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HERODOTUS.

TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

VOL. II.

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OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

'To Herodotus we are indebted for what we know of the ancient dynasties of the Medes, Persians, Phœnicians, Lydians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Scythians.—He is an imitator of Homer, whom he resembles in copiousness of invention, and elegance of phrase; in sweetness, ease, and perspicuity.—Cicero says that he was an oratorical, as well as a poetical historian, and that no eloquence ever pleased him like his.'—ROBINSON'S ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK III.—THALIA.[1]

CHAP. I. AGAINST this Amasis Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, led an army, composed as well of his other subjects, as of the Ionic and Æolic Greeks. His inducements were these: by an ambassador whom he despatched for this purpose into Egypt, he demanded the daughter of Amasis, which he did at the suggestion

1 On the commencement of his observations on this book M. Larcher remarks that the names of the muses were only affixed to the books of Herodotus at a subsequent and later period. Porphyry does not distinguish the second book of our historian by the name of Euterpe, but is satisfied with calling it the book which treats of the affairs of Egypt. Athenæus also says, the first or the second book of the histories of Herodotus.

I am nevertheless rather inclined to believe that these names were annexed to the books of Herodotus from the spontaneous impulse of admiration which was excited amongst the first hearers of them at the Olympic games.

According to Pausanias, there were originally no more than three muses, whose names were Melete, Mneme, and Aoide. Their number was afterwards increased to nine, their residence confined to Parnassus, and the direction or patronage of them, if these be not improper terms, assigned to Apollo. Their contest for superiority with the nine daughters of Evippe, and consequent victory, is agreeably described by Ovid, Met. book v. Their order and influence seem in a great measure to have been arbitrary. The names of the books of Herodotus have been generally adopted as determinate with respect to their order. This was, however, without any assigned motive, perverted by Ausonius.

of a certain Egyptian who had entertained an enmity against his master. This man was a physician, and when Cyrus had once requested of Amasis the best medical advice which Egypt could afford for a disorder in his eyes, the king had forced him, in preference to all others, from his wife and family, and sent him into Persia. In revenge for which treatment this Egyptian instigated Cambyses to require the daughter of Amasis, that he might either suffer affliction from the loss of his child, or by refusing to send her, provoke the resentment of Cambyses. Amasis both dreaded and detested the power of Persia, and was unwilling to accept, though fearful of refusing the overture. But he well knew that his daughter was meant to be not the wife but the concubine of Cambyses, and therefore he determined on this mode of conduct: Apries, the former king, had left an only daughter: her name was Nitetis, and she was possessed of much elegance and beauty. The king, having decorated her with great splendor of dress, sent her into Persia as his own child. Not long after, when Cambyses occasionally addressed her as the daughter of Amasis, 'Sir,' said she, 'you are greatly mistaken, and Amasis has deceived you: he has adorned my person, and sent me to you as his daughter; but Apries was my father, whom he, with his other rebellious subjects, dethroned and put to death.' This speech and this occasion immediately prompted Cambyses in great wrath, to commence hostilities against Egypt.—Such is the Persian account of the story.

II. The Egyptians claim Cambyses as their own, by asserting that this incident did not happen to him, but *to Cyrus,*[1] from whom, and from this daughter of

1 *They speak* with more probability, who say it was Cyrus

Apries, they say he was born.[1] This, however, is certainly not true. The Egyptians are of all mankind the best conversant with the Persian manners, and they must have known that a natural child could never succeed to the throne of Persia whilst a legitimate one was alive. And it was equally certain that Cambyses was not born of an Egyptian woman, but was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, of the race of the Achæmenides. This story therefore was invented by the Egyptians, that they might from this pretence claim a connexion with the house of Cyrus.

III. Another story also is asserted, which to me seems improbable. They say that a Persian lady once visiting the wives of Cyrus, saw standing near their mother the children of Cassandane, whom she complimented in high terms on their superior excellence of form and person. 'Me,' replied Cassandane, 'who am the mother of these children, Cyrus neglects and despises; all his kindness is bestowed on this Egyptian female.' This she said from resentment against Nitetis. They add that Cambyses, her eldest son, instantly exclaimed, 'Mother, as soon as I am a man I will effect the utter destruction of Egypt.'[2] These

and not Cambyses, to whom this daughter of Apries was sent.—*Prideaux.*

1 Polyænus, in his Stratagemata, relates the affair in this manner:—Nitetis, who was in reality the daughter of Apries, lived a long time with Cyrus as the daughter of Amasis. After having many children by Cyrus, she disclosed to him who she really was; for though Amasis was dead, she wished to revenge herself on his son Psammenitus. Cyrus acceded to her wishes, but died in the midst of his preparations for an Egyptian war. This, Cambyses was persuaded by his mother to undertake, and revenged on the Egyptians the cause of the family of *Apries.—T.*

2 *Literally, I will turn* Egypt upside down.

M. Larcher enumerates, from Athenæus, the various and

words, from a prince who was then only ten years of age, surprised and delighted the woman; and as soon as he became a man, and succeeded to the throne, he remembered the incident, and commenced hostilities against Egypt.

IV. He had another inducement to this undertaking. Among the auxiliaries of Amasis was a man named Phanes, a native of Halicarnassus, and greatly distinguished by his mental as well as military accomplishments. This person being, for I know not what reason, incensed against Amasis, fled in a vessel from Egypt to have a conference with Cambyses. As he possessed great influence amongst the auxiliaries, and was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, Amasis ordered him to be rigorously pursued, and for this purpose equipped, under the care of the most faithful of his eunuchs, a three-banked galley. The pursuit was successful, and Phanes was taken in Lydia; but he was not carried back to Egypt, for he circumvented his guards, and by making them drunk effected his escape. He fled instantly to Persia. Cambyses was then meditating the expedition against

destructive wars which had originated on account of women: he adds, what a number of illustrious families had from a similar cause been utterly extinguished. The impression of this idea, added to the vexations which he had himself experienced in domestic life, probably extorted from our great poet Milton the following energetic lines:

Oh, why did God,
Creator wise, that peopled highest heaven
With spirits masculine, create at last
This novelty on earth, this fair defect
Of nature, and not fill the world at once
With men as angels, without feminine,
Or find some other way to generate
Mankind? This mischief had not then befall'n,
And more that shall befall, innumerable
Disturbances on earth through female snares!—T.

Egypt, but was deterred by the difficulty of marching an army over the deserts, where so little water was to be procured. Phanes explained to the king all the concerns of Amasis; and to obviate the above difficulty, advised him to send and ask of the king of the Arabs a safe passage through his territories.

V. This is indeed the only avenue by which Egypt can possibly be entered. The whole country, from Phœnicia to Cadytis, a city which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, and in my opinion equal to Sardis, together with all the commercial towns as far as Jenysus, belong to the Arabians. This is also the case with that space of land which from the Syrian Jenysus extends to the lake of Serbonis, from the vicinity of which Mount Casius stretches to the sea. At this lake, where, as was reported, Typhon was concealed, Egypt commences. This tract, which comprehends the city Jenysus, Mount Casius, and the lake of Serbonis, is of no trifling extent; it is a three days' journey over a very dry and parched desert.

VI. I shall now explain what is known to very few of those who travel into Egypt by sea. Twice in every year there are exported from different parts of Greece to Egypt, and from Phœnicia in particular, wine secured in earthen jars, not one of which jars is afterwards to be seen. I shall describe to what purpose they are applied: the principal magistrate of every town is obliged to collect all the earthen vessels imported to the place where he resides, and send them to Memphis. The Memphians fill them with water,[1] and

1 The water of the Nile never becomes impure, whether reserved at home, or exported abroad. On board the vessels which pass from Egypt to Italy, this water, which remains at the end of *the voyage,* is good, whilst what they happen to *take in during their* voyage corrupts. The Egyptians are the *only people we know* who preserve this water in jars, as

afterwards transport them to the Syrian deserts. Thus all the earthen vessels carried into Egypt, and there carefully collected, are continually added to those already in Syria.

VII. Such are the means which the Persians have constantly adopted to provide themselves with water in these deserts, from the time that they were first masters of Egypt. But as, at the time of which we speak, they had not this resource, Cambyses listened to the advice of his Halicarnassian guest, and solicited of the Arabian prince a safe passage through his territories; which was granted, after mutual promises of friendship.

VIII. These are the ceremonies which the Arabians observe when they make alliances, of which no people in the world are more tenacious.[1] On these occasions some one connected with both parties stands betwixt them, and with a sharp stone opens a vein of the hand, near the middle finger, of those who are about to contract. He then takes a piece of the vest of each person, and dips it in their blood, with which he stains several stones purposely placed in the midst of the

others do wine. They keep it three or four years, and sometimes longer, and the age of this water is with them an increase of its value, as the age of wine is elsewhere.—*Aristides Orat. Ægyptiac.*

Modern writers and travellers are agreed about the excellence of the water of the Nile; but the above assertion, with respect to its keeping, wants to be corroborated. Much the same is said respecting the water of the Thames.

1 How faithful the Arabs are at this day, when they have pledged themselves to be so, is a topic of admiration and of praise with all modern travellers. They who once put themselves under their protection have nothing afterwards to fear, for their word is sacred. Singular as the mode here described *of forming alliances* may appear to an English reader, that of *taking an oath* by putting the hand under the thigh, in use *among the patriarchs*, was surely not less so.

assembly, invoking during the process Bacchus and Urania. When this is finished, he who solicits the compact to be made pledges his friends for the sincerity of his engagements to the stranger or citizen, or whoever it may happen to be; and all of them conceive an indispensable necessity to exist of performing what they promise. Bacchus and Urania are the only deities whom they venerate. They cut off their hair round their temples, from the supposition that Bacchus wore his in that form: him they call Urotalt; Urania, Alilat.

IX. When the Arabian prince had made an alliance with the messengers of Cambyses, he ordered all his camels to be laden with camel-skins filled with water, and to be driven to the deserts, there to wait the arrival of Cambyses and his army. Of this incident the above seems to me the more probable narrative. There is also another, which however I may disbelieve, I think I ought not to omit. In Arabia is a large river called Corys, which loses itself in the Red Sea: from this river the Arabian is said to have formed a canal of the skins of oxen and other animals sewed together, which was continued to the above-mentioned deserts, where he also sunk a number of cisterns to receive the water so introduced. From the river to the desert is a journey of twelve days; and they say that the water was conducted by three distinct canals into as many different places.

X. At the Pelusian mouth of the Nile Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, was encamped, and expected Cambyses in arms. Amasis himself, after a reign of forty-four years, died before Cambyses had advanced to Egypt, and during the whole enjoyment of his power he experienced no extraordinary calamity. At his death his body was embalmed, and deposited in a

sepulchre which he had erected for himself in the temple of Minerva. During the reign of his son Psammenitus Egypt beheld a most remarkable prodigy; there was rain at the Egyptian Thebes, a circumstance which never happened before, and which, as the Thebans themselves assert, has never occurred since. In the higher parts of Egypt it never rains, but at that period we read it rained at Thebes in distinct drops.

XI. The Persians having passed the deserts, fixed their camp opposite to the Egyptians, as with the design of offering them battle. The Greeks and Carians, who were the confederates of the Egyptians, to show their resentment against Phanes, for introducing a foreign army against Egypt, adopted this expedient: his sons, whom he had left behind, they brought into the camp, and in a conspicuous place, in the sight of their father, they put them one by one to death on a vessel brought thither for that purpose. When they had done this, they filled the vase which had received the blood with wine and water; having drank which,[1] all the auxiliaries immediately engaged the enemy. The battle was obstinately disputed; but after considerable loss on both sides, the Egyptians fled.

XII. By the people inhabiting the place where this battle was fought a very surprising thing was pointed out to my attention. The bones of those who fell in

1 They probably swore at the same time to avenge the treason of Phanes, or perish. The blood of a human victim mixed with wine accompanied the most solemn forms of execration among the ancients. Catiline made use of this superstition to bind his adherents to secrecy: 'He carried round,' says Sallust, 'the blood of a human victim, mixed with wine; and when all had tasted it, after a set form of execration (*sicut in solennibus* sacris fieri consuevit) he imparted his design.'—*T.*

the engagement were soon afterwards collected, and separated into two distinct heaps. It was observed of the Persians, that their heads were so extremely soft as to yield to the slight impression even of a pebble; those of the Egyptians, on the contrary, were so firm, that the blow of a large stone could hardly break them. The reason which they gave for this was very satisfactory—the Egyptians from a very early age shave their heads,[1] which by being constantly exposed to the action of the sun, become firm and hard: this treatment also prevents baldness, very few instances of which are ever to be seen in Egypt. Why the skulls of the Persians are so soft may be explained from their being from their infancy accustomed to shelter them from the sun, by the constant use of turbans. I saw the very same fact at Papremis, after examining the bones of those who, under the conduct of Achæmenes, son of Darius, were defeated by Inarus the African.

XIII. The Egyptians after their defeat fled in great disorder to Memphis. Cambyses despatched a Persian up the river in a Mitylenian vessel to treat with them; but as soon as they saw the vessel enter Memphis, they rushed in a crowd from the citadel, destroyed the vessel, tore the crew in pieces,[2] and afterwards carried them into the citadel. Siege was immediately laid to the place, and the Egyptians were

1 The same custom still subsists. I have seen every where the children of the common people, whether running in the field, assembled round the village, or swimming in the waters, with their heads shaved and bare. Let us but imagine the hardness a skull must acquire thus exposed to the scorching sun, and we shall not be astonished at the remark of Herodotus.—*Savary*.

2 They were two hundred in number; this appears from a following paragraph, where we find that for every Mitylenian massacred on this occasion ten Egyptians were put to death, and that two thousand Egyptians thus perished.—*Larcher*.

finally compelled to surrender. Those Africans who lived nearest to Egypt, apprehensive of a similar fate, submitted without contest, imposing a tribute on themselves, and sending presents to the Persians. Their example was followed by the Cyreneans and Barceans, who were struck with the like panic. The African presents Cambyses received very graciously, but he expressed much resentment at those of the Cyreneans, as I think, on account of their meanness. They sent him five hundred minæ of silver, which, as soon as he received, with his own hands he threw amongst his soldiers.

XIV. On the tenth day after the surrender of the citadel of Memphis Psammenitus, the Egyptian king, who had reigned no more than six months, was by order of Cambyses ignominiously conducted, with other Egyptians, to the outside of the walls, and by way of trial of his disposition, thus treated: his daughter, in the habit of a slave, was sent with a pitcher to draw water; she was accompanied by a number of young women clothed in the same garb, and selected from families of the first distinction. They passed with much and loud lamentation before their parents, from whom their treatment excited a correspondent violence of grief. But when Psammenitus beheld the spectacle, he merely declined his eyes on the ground: when this train was gone by, the son of Psammenitus, with two thousand Egyptians of the same age, were made to walk in procession with ropes round their necks, and bridles in their mouths. These were intended to avenge the death of those Mitylenians who, with their vessel, had been torn to pieces at Memphis. The king's counsellors had determined that for every one put to death on that occasion ten of the first rank of the Egyptians should be sacrificed. Psammenitus observed these as they passed; but al-

though he perceived that his son was going to be executed, and whilst all the Egyptians around him wept and lamented aloud, he continued unmoved as before. When this scene also disappeared, he beheld a venerable personage, who had formerly partaken of the royal table, deprived of all he had possessed, and in the dress of a mendicant asking charity through the different ranks of the army. This man stopped to beg alms of Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and the other noble Egyptians who were sitting with him; which, when Psammenitus beheld, he could no longer suppress his emotions, but calling on his friend by name, wept aloud,[1] and beat his head. This the spies, who were placed near him to observe his conduct on each incident, reported to Cambyses; who, in astonishment at such behavior, sent a messenger, who was thus directed to address him: 'Your lord and master, Cambyses, is desirous to know why, after beholding with so much indifference your daughter treated as a slave, and your son conducted to death, you expressed so lively a concern for that mendicant, who, as he has been informed, is not at all related to you.' Psammenitus made this reply: 'Son of Cyrus, my domestic misfortunes were too great to suffer me to shed tears:[2] but it was consistent that I should weep for my

1 A very strange effect of grief is related by Mr. Gibbon, in the story of Gelimer, king of the Vandals, when after an obstinate resistance he was obliged to surrender himself to Belisarius. 'The first public interview,' says our historian, 'was in one of the suburbs of Carthage; and when the royal captive accosted his conqueror, he burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his senses; but in this mournful state unseasonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers that the *vain and transitory* scenes of human greatness are *unworthy of* a serious thought.'

2 *This idea of extreme* affliction or anger tending to check

friend, who, from a station of honor and of wealth, is in the last stage of life reduced to penury.' Cambyses heard and was satisfied with his answer. The Egyptians say that Crœsus, who attended Cambyses in this Egyptian expedition, wept at the incident. The Persians also who were present were exceedingly moved, and Cambyses himself yielded so far to compassion, that he ordered the son of Psammenitus to be preserved out of those who had been condemned to die, and Psammenitus himself to be conducted from the place where he was to his presence.

XV. The emissaries employed for the purpose found the young prince had suffered first, and was already dead; the father they led to Cambyses, with whom he lived, and received no farther ill treatment; and could he have refrained from ambitious attempts, would probably have been intrusted with the government of Egypt. The Persians hold the sons of sovereigns in the greatest reverence, and even if the fathers revolt, they will permit the sons to succeed to their authority: that such is really their conduct may be proved by

the act of weeping, is expressed by Shakspeare with wonderful sublimity and pathos. It is part of a speech of Lear:

You see me here, ye gods, a poor old man,
As full of grief as age ; wretched in both!
If it be you that stir these daughters' hearts
Against their father, fool me not so much
To bear it tamely: touch me with noble anger!
O, let not women's weapons, water-drops,
Stain my man's cheeks!—No, you unnatural hags,
I will have such revenges on you both
That all the world shall——I will do such things,—
What they are, yet I know not; but they shall be
The terrors of the earth.——You think I'll weep:
No, I'll not weep.
I have full cause of weeping; but this heart
Shall break into a hundred thousand flaws
Or e'er I'll weep.—T.

various examples. Thannyras, the son of Inarus, received the kingdom which his father governed; Pausiris also, the son of Amyrtæus, was permitted to reign after his father, although the Persians had never met with more obstinate enemies than both Inarus and Amyrtæus. Psammenitus revolted, and suffered for his offence: he was detected in stirring up the Egyptians to rebel; and being convicted by Cambyses, was made to drink a quantity of bullock's blood,[1] which immediately occasioned his death.—Such was the end of Psammenitus.

XVI. From Sais Cambyses proceeded to Memphis to execute a purpose he had in view. As soon as he entered the palace of Amasis he ordered the body of that prince to be removed from his tomb. When this was done he commanded it to be beaten with rods, the hair to be plucked out, and the flesh to be goaded with sharp instruments, to which he added other marks of ignominy. As the body was embalmed, their efforts made but little impression; when therefore they were fatigued with these outrages, he ordered it to be burned. In this last act Cambyses paid no regard to the religion of his country; for the Persians venerate fire as a divinity.[2] The custom of burning the dead

1 Bull's blood taken fresh from the animal was considered by the ancients as a powerful poison, and supposed to act by coagulating in the stomach. Themistocles, and several other personages of antiquity, were said to have died by taking it.—See Plut. in Themist. and Pliny, b. xxviii. c. ix. Aristophanes also alludes to this account of the death of Themistocles.

2 This expression must not be understood in too rigorous a sense. Fire was certainly regarded by the Persians as something sacred, and perhaps they might render it some kind of religious worship, which in its origin referred only to the deity of which this element was an emblem. But it is certain that *this nation did* not believe fire to be a deity, other*wise how would* they have dared to have extinguished it *throughout Persia,* on the death of the sovereign, as we learn

does not prevail in either of the two nations; for the reason above mentioned the Persians do not use it, thinking it profane to feed a divinity with human carcasses; and the Egyptians abhor it, being fully persuaded that fire is a voracious animal, which devours whatever it can seize, and when saturated finally expires with what it has consumed. They hold it unlawful to expose the bodies of the dead[1] to any animals; for which reason they embalm them, fearing lest, after interment, they might become the prey of worms. The Egyptians assert that the above indignities were not inflicted on the body of Amasis; but that the Persians were deceived, and perpetrated these insults on some other Egyptian of the same age with that prince. Amasis, they say, was informed by an oracle of the injuries intended against his body; to prevent which he ordered the person who really sustained them to be buried at the entrance of his tomb, whilst he himself, by his own directions given to his son, was placed

from Diodorus Siculus?—See an epigram of Dioscorides, Brunck's Analecta, vol. i. 503.—*Larcher*.

1 We learn from Xenophon, that the interment of bodies was common in Greece; and Homer tells us that the custom of burning the dead was in use before the Trojan war. It is therefore probable that both customs were practised at the same time: this was also the case at Rome, as appears from many ancient monuments: the custom however of interment seems to have preceded that of burning.

'That seems to me to have been the most ancient kind of burial which, according to Xenophon, was used by Cyrus. For the body is returned to the earth, and so placed as to be covered with the veil of its mother.' The custom of burning at Rome, according to Montfaucon, ceased about the time of Theodosius the younger.

Sylla was the first of the Cornelian family whose body was burnt, whence some have erroneously advanced that he was *the first Roman*; but both methods were mentioned in the *laws of the twelve* tables, and appear to have been equally *prevalent. After* Sylla, burning became general.—T.

in some secret and interior recess of the sepulchre. These assertions I cannot altogether believe, and am rather inclined to impute them to the vanity of the Egyptians.

XVII. Cambyses afterwards determined to commence hostilities against three nations at once; the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian[1] Ethiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya which lies towards the southern ocean. He accordingly resolved to send against the Carthaginians a naval armament; a detachment of his troops was to attack the Ammonians by land; and he sent spies into Ethiopia, who, under pretence of carrying presents to the prince, were to ascertain the reality of the celebrated table of the sun,[2] and to examine the condition of the country.

XVIII. What they called the table of the sun was this:—A plain in the vicinity of the city was filled to the height of four feet with the roasted flesh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inspection of the magistrates; during the day, whoever pleased was at liberty to go and satisfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm that the earth spontaneously produces all these viands; this however is what they term the table of the sun.

XIX. As soon as Cambyses had resolved on the measures he meant to pursue with respect to the Ethiopians, he sent to the city of Elephantine for

1 I. e. long-lived.

2 Solinus speaks of this table of the sun as something marvellous, and Pomponius Mela seems to have had the same idea. Pausanias considers what was reported of it as fabulous. 'If,' says he, 'we credit all these marvels on the faith of the Greeks, we ought also to receive as true what the Ethiopians *above Syene* relate of the table of the sun.' *In adhering to the recital of* Herodotus, *a considerable portion of the marvellous* disappears.—*Larcher*.

some of the Ichthyophagi who were skilled in their language. In the mean time he directed his naval forces to proceed against the Carthaginians; but the Phœnicians refused to assist him in this purpose, pleading the solemnity of their engagements with that people, and the impiety of committing acts of violence against their own descendants. Such was the conduct of the Phœnicians, and the other armaments were not powerful enough to proceed. Thus therefore the Carthaginians escaped being made tributary to Persia; for Cambyses did not choose to use compulsion with the Phœnicians, who had voluntarily become his dependants, and who constituted the most essential part of his naval power. The Cyprians had also submitted without contest to the Persians, and had served in the Egyptian expedition.

XX. As soon as the Ichthyophagi arrived from Elephantine Cambyses despatched them to Ethiopia. They were commissioned to deliver, with certain presents, a particular message to the prince. The presents consisted of a purple vest, a gold chain for the neck, bracelets, an alabaster box of perfumes,[1] and a cask of palm wine. The Ethiopians to whom Cambyses sent are reported to be superior to all other men in the perfections of size and beauty: their manners and

1 It seems probable that perfumes in more ancient times were kept in shells. Arabia is the country of perfumes, and the Red Sea throws on the coast a number of large and beautiful shells, very convenient for such a purpose.

That to make a present of perfumes was deemed a mark of reverence and honor in the remotest times amongst the Orientals, appears from Daniel.

Alabaster obtained its name from being frequently used for this purpose: the ancient name for the stone was *alabastrites*, and perfumes were thought to keep better in it than in any other substance. Pliny has informed us of the shape of these vessels, by comparing to them the pearls called elenchi, which are known to have been shaped like pears.

customs, which differ also from those of all other nations, have, besides, this singular distinction—the supreme authority is given to him who excels all his fellow-citizens[1] in size and proportionable strength.

XXI. The Ichthyophagi on their arrival offered the presents, and thus addressed the king: 'Cambyses, sovereign of Persia, from his anxious desire of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us to communicate with you, and to desire your acceptance of these presents; from the use of which he himself derives the greatest pleasure.' The Ethiopian prince, who was aware of the object they had in view, made them this answer:—'The king of Persia has not sent you with these presents from any desire of obtaining my alliance; neither do you speak the truth, who, to facilitate the unjust designs of your master, are come to examine the state of my dominions: if he were influenced by principles of integrity he would be satisfied with his own, and not covet the possessions of another; nor would he attempt to reduce those to servitude from whom he has received no injury. Give him therefore this bow, and in my name speak to him thus:—The king of Ethiopia sends this counsel to the king of Persia: when his subjects shall be able to bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then with a superiority of numbers he may venture to attack the Macrobian Ethiopians. In the mean time, let him be thankful to the gods that the Ethiopians have not been inspired with the same ambitious views of extending their possessions.'

XXII. When he had finished he unbent the bow and placed it in their hands; after which, taking the

1 That the quality of strength and accomplishments of person *were in the first institution* of society the principal re*commendations to honor, is* represented by Lucretius.

purple vest, he inquired what it was, and how it was made: the Ichthyophagi properly explained to him the process by which the purple tincture was communicated; but he told them that they and their vests were alike deceitful. He then made similar inquiries concerning the bracelets and the gold chain for the neck; on their describing the nature of those ornaments he laughed, and conceiving them to be chains,[1] remarked, that the Ethiopians possessed much stronger. He proceeded, lastly, to ask them the use of the perfumes; and when they informed him how they were

1 We learn from a passage in Genesis, xxiv. 22, that the bracelets of the orientals were remarkably heavy; which seems in some measure to justify the sentiment of the Ethiopian prince, who thought them chains, simply because they were made of gold, which was used for that purpose in his country.—See chap. xxiii.

'And it came to pass as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight of gold.'

That the bracelet was formerly an ensign of royalty among the orientals, Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, infers from the circumstance of the Amalekite's bringing to David the bracelet which he found on Saul's arm, along with his crown. That it was a mark of dignity there can be little doubt; but it by no means follows that it was a mark of royalty, though the remark is certainly ingenious. If it was, there existed a peculiar propriety in making it the part of a present from one prince to another. By the Roman generals they were given to their soldiers as a reward of bravery. Small chains were also, in the remotest times, worn round the neck, not only by women but by the men. That these were also worn by princes appears from Judges, viii. 26.

'And the weight of the golden ear-rings that he requested, was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold; beside ornaments, and *collars*, and purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian; and beside the chains that were about their camels' necks.' Which last circumstance tends also to prove *that they thus* also decorated the animals they used, which *fashion is to this* day observed by people of distinction in *Egypt*.

made and applied, he made the same observation as he had before done of the purple robe.[1] When he came to the wine, and learned how it was made, he drank it with particular satisfaction; and inquired on what food the Persian monarch subsisted, and what was the longest period of a Persian's life. The king, they told him, lived chiefly on bread; and they then described to him the properties of corn: they added, that the longest period of life in Persia was about eighty years. 'I am not at all surprised,' said the Ethiopian prince, 'that, subsisting on dung, the term of life is so short among them; and unless,' he continued, pointing to the wine, 'they mixed it with this liquor, they would not live so long:' for in this he allowed that they excelled the Ethiopians.

XXIII. The Ichthyophagi, in their turn, questioned the prince concerning the duration of life in Ethiopia,

It is a circumstance well known at present, that on the coast of Guayaquil, as well as on that of Guatimala, are found those snails which yield the purple dye so celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have supposed to have been lost. The shell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the sea; it is of the size of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways; some persons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the shell, they then press it from the head to the tail with a knife, and separating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the rest. When this operation, repeated on several of the snails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that is to be dyed is dipped in it, and the business is done. The color, which is at first as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn purple till the thread is dry.

We know of no color that can be compared to the one we have been speaking of, either in lustre or in permanency.—*Raynal.*

Pliny describes the *purpura* as a turbinated shell like the buccinum, *but with spines on it*; which may lead us to suspect the Abbé's account of the *snails* of a little inaccuracy.—*T.*

and the kind of food there in use: they were told that the majority of the people lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years, but that some exceeded even that period; that their meat was baked flesh, their drink milk. When the spies expressed astonishment at the length of life in Ethiopia, they were conducted to a certain fountain, in which having bathed, they became shining as if anointed with oil, and diffused from their bodies the perfume of violets. But they asserted that the water of this fountain was of so insubstantial a nature, that neither wood, nor any thing still lighter than wood, would float on its surface, but every thing instantly sunk to the bottom. If their representation of this water was true, the constant use of it may probably explain the extreme length of life which the Ethiopians attain. From the fountain they were conducted to the public prison, where all that were confined were secured by chains of gold; for among these Ethiopians brass is the rarest of all the metals. After visiting the prison they saw also what is called the table of the sun.

XXIV. Finally, they were shown their coffins,[1]

1 Coffins, though anciently used in the East, and considered as marks of distinction, are not now there applied to the dead either by Turks or Christians.

'With us,' says Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, 'the poorest people have their coffins; if the relations cannot afford them, the parish is at the expense. In the East, on the contrary, they are not now at all made use of. Turks and Christians, Thevenot assures us, agree in this. The ancient Jews probably buried their dead in the same manner: neither was the body of our Lord, it should seem, put into a coffin, nor that of Elisha, whose bones were touched by the corpse that was let down a little after into his sepulchre, 2 Kings xiii. 21. That they however were anciently made use of in Egypt, all agree; and antique coffins, of stone and sycamore wood, are still to be seen in that country, not to mention those said to be made of a kind of paste

which are said to be constructed of crystal, and in this manner:—after all the moisture is exhausted from the body, by the Egyptian or some other process, they cover it totally with a kind of plaster, which they decorate with various colors, and make it convey as near a resemblance as can be of the person of the deceased. They then inclose it in a hollow pillar of crystal,[1]

board, formed by folding and gluing cloth together a great number of times, which were curiously plastered, and then painted with hieroglyphics. Its being an ancient Egyptian custom, and its not being used in the neighboring countries, were doubtless the cause that the sacred historian expressly observes of Joseph, that he was not only embalmed, but put into a coffin too, both being managements peculiar in a manner to the Egyptians.'—*Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. ii. 154.

Mr. Harmer's observation in the foregoing note is not strictly true. The use of coffins might very probably be unknown in Syria, from whence Joseph came; but that they were used by all nations contiguous on one side at least to Egypt, the passage before us proves sufficiently. I have not been able to ascertain at what period the use of coffins was introduced in this country, but it appears from the following passage of our celebrated antiquary, Mr. Strutt, that from very remote times our ancestors were interred in some kind of coffin:—'It was customary in the Christian burials of the Anglo-Saxons to leave the head and shoulders of the corpse uncovered till the time of burial, that relations, &c. might take a last view of their deceased friend.'

We learn from a passage in Strabo, that there was a temple at Alexandria, in which the body of Alexander was deposited, in a coffin of gold; it was stolen by Seleucus Cybiosactes, who left a coffin of glass in its place. This is the only author, except Herodotus, in whom I can remember to have seen mention made of a coffin of glass. The urns of ancient Rome, in which the ashes of the dead were deposited, were indifferently made of gold, silver, brass, alabaster, porphyry, and marble; these were externally ornamented according to the rank of the deceased. A minute description of these, with a multitude of specimens, may be seen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

1 'Our glass,' says M. Larcher, 'is not the production of the *earth; it must be* manufactured with much trouble.' *According to Ludolf,* they find in some parts of Ethiopia large

which is dug up in great abundance, and of a kind that is easily worked. The deceased is very conspicuous through the crystal, has no disagreeable smell, nor any thing else that is offensive. This coffin the nearest relations keep for a twelvemonth in their houses, offering before it different kinds of victims, and the first-fruits of their lands; these are afterwards removed, and set up round the city.

XXV. The spies, after executing their commission, returned; and Cambyses was so exasperated at their recital, that he determined instantly to proceed against the Ethiopians, without ever providing for the necessary sustenance of his army, or reflecting that he was about to visit the extremities of the earth. The moment that he heard the report of the Ichthyophagi, like one deprived of all the powers of reason, he commenced his march with the whole body of his infantry, leaving no forces behind but such Greeks as had accompanied him to Egypt. On his arrival at Thebes he selected from his army about fifty thousand men, whom he ordered to make an incursion against the Ammonians, and to burn the place from whence the oracles of Jupiter were delivered; he himself, with the remainder of his troops, marched against the Ethiopians. Before he had performed a fifth part of his intended expedition the provisions he had with him were totally consumed. They proceeded to eat the beasts which carried the baggage, till these also failed. If after these incidents Cambyses had permitted his

quantities of fossil salt, which is transparent, and which indurates in the air: this is perhaps what they took for glass.

We have the testimony of the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that ὕαλος, though afterwards used for glass, signified anciently crystal: as therefore Herodotus informs us that this substance was digged from the earth, why should we hesitate to translate it crystal?—*T*.

passions to cool, and had led his army back again, notwithstanding his indiscretion, he still might have deserved praise. Instead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. The soldiers, as long as the earth afforded them any sustenance, were content to feed on vegetables; but as soon as they arrived among the sands and the deserts, some of them were prompted by famine to proceed to the most horrid extremities. They drew lots; and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest.[1] When Cambyses received intelligence of this fact, alarmed at the idea of devouring one another, he abandoned his designs on the Ethiopians; and returning homeward, arrived at length at Thebes, after losing a considerable number of his men. From Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, from whence he permitted the Greeks to embark.—Such was the termination of the Ethiopian expedition.

XXVI. The troops who were despatched against the Ammonians left Thebes with guides, and penetrated, as it should seem, as far as Oasis. This place is distant from Thebes about a seven days' journey over the sands, and is said to be inhabited by Samians

1 The whole of this narrative is transcribed by Seneca, with some little variation, in his treatise *de Ira;* who at the conclusion adds, though we know not from what authority, that notwithstanding these dreadful sufferings of his troops, the king's table was served with abundance of delicacies.

Perhaps the most horrid example on record of suffering from famine, is the description given by Josephus of the siege of Jerusalem. Eleven thousand prisoners were starved to death after the capture of the city, during the storm. Whilst the Romans were engaged in pillage, on entering several houses they found whole families dead, and the houses crammed with starved carcasses; but what is still more shocking, it was a notorious fact that a mother killed, dressed, and ate her own child.—*T.*

of the Æschryonian tribe. The country is called in Greek, 'The happy Island.' The army is reported to have proceeded thus far; but what afterwards became of them it is impossible to know, except from the Ammonians, or those whom the Ammonians have instructed on this head. It is certain that they never arrived among the Ammonians, and that they never returned.[1] The Ammonians affirm, that as they were marching forwards from Oasis through the sands, they halted at some place of middle distance, for the purpose of taking repast, which, while they were doing, a strong south wind arose, and overwhelmed them beneath a mountain of sand,[2] so that they were seen no more.—Such, as the Ammonians relate, was the fate of this army.

1 The route of the army makes it plain that the guides, who detested the Persians, led them astray amidst the deserts; for they should have departed from the lake Mareotis to this temple, or from the environs of Memphis. The Egyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, led them from Thebes to the great Oasis, three days' journey from Abydus; and having brought them into the vast solitudes of Libya, they no doubt abandoned them in the night, and delivered them over to death.—*Savary*.

2 What happens at present in performing this journey proves the event to be very credible. Travellers, departing from the fertile valley lying under the tropic, march seven days before they come to the first town in Ethiopia. They find their way in the day-time by looking at marks, and at night by observing the stars. The sand hills they had observed on the preceding journey having often been carried away by the winds, deceive the guides; and if they wander the least out of the road, the camels, having passed five or six days without drinking, sink under their burden, and die: the men are not long before they submit to the same fate, and sometimes, out of a great number, not a single traveller escapes; at others the burning winds from the south raise vortexes of dust, which suffocate man and beast, and the *next caravan sees* the ground strewed with bodies totally *parched up.—Savary.*

XXVII. Soon after the return of Cambyses to Memphis the god Apis appeared, called by the Greeks Epaphus. On this occasion the Egyptians clothed themselves in their richest apparel, and made great rejoicings. Cambyses took notice of this, and imagined it was done on account of his late unfortunate projects. He ordered, therefore, the magistrates of Memphis to attend him; and he asked them why they had done nothing of this kind when he was formerly at Memphis, and had only made rejoicings now that he had returned with the loss of so many of his troops. They told him that their deity[1] had appeared to them, which after a long absence it was his custom to do; and that when this happened, it was customary for all the Egyptians to hold a solemn festival. Cambyses

1 A few particulars concerning this Apis may not be unacceptable to an English reader.

The homage paid him was not confined to Egypt; many illustrious conquerors and princes of foreign nations, Alexander, Titus, and Adrian, bowed themselves before him. Larcher says that he was considered as sacred to the moon; but Porphyry expressly says, that he was sacred to both sun and moon. The following passage is from Plutarch: 'The priests affirm that the moon sheds a generative light, with which should a cow be struck, she conceives Apis, who bears the sign of that planet.' Strabo says that he was brought out from his apartment to gratify the curiosity of strangers, and might always be seen through a window. Pliny relates with great solemnity that he refused food from the hand of Germanicus, who died soon after; and one ancient historian asserts, that during the seven days when the birth of Apis was celebrated, crocodiles forgot their natural ferocity, and became tame.

The bishop of Avranches, M. Huet, endeavored to prove that Apis was a symbol of the patriarch Joseph.

It has been generally allowed that Osiris was reverenced in the homage paid to Apis. Osiris introduced agriculture, in which the utility of the bull is obvious; and this appears to be the *most rational explanation* that can be given of this part *of the Egyptian superstition.—See Savary*, Pococke, &c.—T.

disbelieved what they told him, and condemned them to death, as guilty of falsehood.

XXVIII. As soon as they were executed he sent for the priests, from whom he received the same answer. 'If,' said he, 'any deity has shown himself familiarly in Egypt, I must see and know him.' He then commanded them to bring Apis before him, which they prepared to do. This Apis, or Epaphus, is the calf of a cow which can have no more young. The Egyptians say, that on this occasion the cow is struck with lightning, from which she conceives and brings forth Apis. The young one so produced, and thus named, is known by certain marks. The skin is black, but on its forehead is a white star, of a triangular form. It has the figure of an eagle on the back, the tail[1] is divided, and under the tongue it has an insect like a beetle.

XXIX. When the priest conducted Apis to his presence, Cambyses was transported with rage. He drew his dagger, and endeavoring to stab him in the body, wounded him in the thigh; then turning to the priests with an insulting smile: 'Wretches!' he exclaimed, 'think ye that gods are formed of flesh and blood, and thus susceptible of wounds? This, indeed, is a deity worthy of Egyptians: but you shall find that I am not to be mocked with impunity.' He then called the proper officers, and commanded the priests to be scourged: he directed also that whatever Egyptian was found celebrating this festival should be put to death. The priests were thus punished, and no farther solemnities observed Apis himself languished and died in the

1 The scholiast of Ptolemy says, but I know not on what authority, that the tail of the bull increased or diminished according to the age of the moon.—*Larcher.*

temple, from the wound of his thigh, and was buried by the priests without the knowlege of Cambyses.

XXX. The Egyptians affirm, that in consequence of this impiety, Cambyses became immediately insane, who indeed did not before appear to have had the proper use of his reason. The first impulse of his fury was directed against Smerdis, his own brother, who had become the object of his jealousy, because he was the only Persian who had been able to bend the bow, which the Ichthyophagi brought from Ethiopia, the breadth of two fingers. He was therefore ordered to return to Persia, where as soon as he came, Cambyses saw this vision: a messenger appeared to arrive from Persia, informing him that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Cambyses was instantly struck with the apprehension that Smerdis would kill him, and seize his dominions; to prevent which he despatched Prexaspes, a Persian, and one of his most faithful adherents, to put him to death. He arrived at Susa, and destroyed Smerdis, some say, by taking him aside whilst engaged in the diversion of the chase: others believe that he drowned him in the Red Sea; this, however, was the commencement of the calamities of Cambyses.

XXXI. The next victim of his fury was his sister, who had accompanied him into Egypt. She was also his wife, which thing he thus accomplished: before this prince no Persian had ever been known to marry his sister;[1] but Cambyses, being passionately fond of

1 Ingenious and learned men of all ages have amused themselves with drawing a comparison betwixt the laws of Solon and Lycurgus. The following particularity affords ample room for conjecture and discussion:—At Athens a man was suffered to marry his sister by the father, but forbidden to marry his *sister by the mother*. At Lacedæmon things were *totally reversed*; a man was allowed to marry his sister by the

one of his, and knowing that there was no precedent to justify his making her his wife, assembled those who were called the royal judges; of them he desired to know whether there was any law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, if he thought proper to do so. The royal judges in Persia are men of the most approved integrity, who hold their places for life, or till they shall be convicted of some crime. Every thing is referred to their decision; they are the interpreters of the laws, and determine all private disputes. In answer to the inquiry of Cambyses, they replied shrewdly, though with truth, that although they could find no law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, they had discovered one which enabled a monarch of Persia to do what he pleased. In this answer, the awe of Cambyses prevented their adopting literally the spirit of the Persian laws; and to secure their persons, they took care to discover what would justify him who wished to marry his sister. Cambyses therefore instantly married the sister whom he loved, and not long afterwards a second. The younger of these, who accompanied him to Egypt, he put to death.

mother, and forbidden to marry his sister by the father.—See what Bayle says on the circumstance of a man's marrying his sister, article *Sarah*.—*T*.

1 An appointment like this, manifestly leading to corruption, and the perversion of justice, prevailed in this country with respect to judges, till the reign of George the Third when a law was passed, the wisdom of which cannot be sufficiently admired, making the judges independent of the king, his ministers, and successors. Yet, however this provision may in appearance diminish the strength of the executive power, the riot-act, combined with the assistance of the standing army, which is always kept up in this country, adds *as much to* the influence of the crown, as it may at first sight *seem to have lost* in prerogative. Such however was the *opinion of* Judge Blackstone.—T.

XXXII. The manner of her death, like that of Smerdis, is differently related. The Greeks say that Cambyses made the cub of a lioness, and a young whelp engage each other, and that this princess was present at the combat; and when this latter was vanquished, another whelp of the same litter broke what confined it, and flew to assist the other, and that both together were too much for the young lion. Cambyses seeing this, expressed great satisfaction; but the princess burst into tears. Cambyses observed her weep, and inquired the reason; she answered, that seeing one whelp assist another of the same brood, she could not but remember Smerdis, whose death she feared nobody would revenge. For which saying, the Greeks affirm, that Cambyses put her to death. On the contrary, if we may believe the Egyptians, this princess was sitting at table with her husband, and took a lettuce in her hand, dividing it leaf by leaf: 'Which,' said she, 'seems in your eyes most agreeable, this lettuce whole, or divided into leaves?' He replied, 'When whole.' 'You,' says she, 'resemble this lettuce, as I have divided it, for you have thus torn in sunder the house of Cyrus.' Cambyses was so greatly incensed, that he threw her down, and leaped on her; and being pregnant, she was delivered before her time, and lost her life.

XXXIII. To such excesses in his own family was Cambyses impelled, either on account of his impious treatment of Apis, or from some other of those numerous calamities which afflict mankind. From the first hour of his birth he labored under what by some is termed the sacred disease. It is therefore by no means astonishing that so great a bodily infirmity should at length injure the mind.

XXXIV. His frensy however extended to the

other Persians. He once made a remarkable speech to Prexaspes, for whom he professed the greatest regard, who received all petitions to the king, and whose son enjoys the honorable office of royal cup-bearer. 'What,' said he, on some occasion, 'do the Persians think of me, or in what terms do they speak of me?' 'Sir,' he replied, 'in all other respects they speak of you with honor; but it is the general opinion that you are too much addicted to wine.' 'What!' returned the prince in anger, 'I suppose they say that I drink to excess, and am deprived of reason; their former praise therefore could not be sincere.' At some preceding period he had asked of those whom he used most familiarly, and of Crœsus among the rest, whether they thought he had equalled the greatness of his father Cyrus. In reply they told him, that he was the greater of the two, for that to all which Cyrus had possessed, he had added the empire of Egypt and of the ocean. Crœsus, who was present, did not assent to this. 'Sir,' said he to Cambyses, 'in my opinion you are not equal to your father; you have not such a son as he left behind him.' Which speech of Crœsus was highly agreeable to Cambyses.

XXXV. Remembering this, he turned with great anger to Prexaspes: 'You,' said he, 'shall presently be witness of the truth or falsehood of what the Persians say. If I hit directly through the heart[1] your

1 The story of William Tell, the great deliverer of the Swiss cantons from the yoke of the Germans, may be properly introduced in this place. Grisler governed Switzerland for the Emperor Albert. He ordered William Tell, a Swiss of some importance, for a pretended offence, to place an apple on the head of one of his children, and to hit it, on pain of death, with an arrow. He was dexterous enough to do so, without hurting his child. Grisler, when the affair was over, took notice that Tell had another arrow concealed under his cloak, and asked him what it was for? 'I intended,' replied Tell,

son, who stands yonder, it will be evident that they speak of me maliciously; if I miss my aim, they will say true in affirming that I am mad.' No sooner had he spoken than he bent his bow, and struck the young man. When he fell, the king ordered his body to be opened, and the wound to be examined. He was rejoiced to find that the arrow had penetrated his heart; and turning to the father with a malicious smile, 'You observe,' said he, 'that it is not I that am mad, but the Persians who are foolish. Tell me,' he continued, 'if you ever saw a man send an arrow surer to its mark?' Prexaspes, seeing he was mad, and fearing for himself, replied, 'I do not think, sir, that even a deity could have aimed so well.'—Such was his treatment of Prexaspes. At another time, without the smallest provocation, he commanded twelve Persians of distinction to be interred alive.

XXXVI. Whilst he was pursuing these extravagances, Crœsus gave him this advice: 'Do not, sir, yield thus intemperately to the warmth of your age and of your temper. Restrain yourself, and remember that moderation is the part of a wise man, and it becomes every one to weigh the consequences of his actions. Without any adequate offence you destroy your fellow-citizens, and put even children to death. If you continue these excesses, the Persians

'to have shot you to the heart if I had killed my child.' The governor ordered Tell to be hanged: but the Swiss, defending their countryman, flew to arms, destroyed their governor, and made themselves independent. See this historical anecdote referred to by Smollet in his sublime Ode to Independence.

> Who with the generous rustics sate
> On Uri's rock, in close divan,
> *And wing'd that* arrow, sure as fate,
> *Which ascertained* the sacred rites of man.—T.

may be induced to revòlt from you. In giving you these admonitions, I do but fulfil the injunctions which the king your father repeatedly laid on me, to warn you of whatever I thought necessary to your welfare.' Kind as were the intentions of Crœsus, he received this answer from Cambyses: 'I am astonished at your presumption in speaking to me thus, as if you had been remarkable either for the judicious government of your own dominions, or for the wise advice which you gave my father. I cannot forget, that instead of waiting for the attack of the Massagetæ, you counselled him to advance and encounter them in their own territories. By your misconduct you lost your own dominions, and by your ill advice were the cause of my father's ruin. But do not expect to escape with impunity; indeed I have long wished for an opportunity to punish you.' He then eagerly snatched his bow,[1] intending to pierce Crœsus with an arrow; but by an expeditious flight he escaped. Cambyses instantly ordered him to be seized and put to death; but as his officers were well acquainted with their prince's character, they concealed Crœsus, thinking that if at any future period he should express contrition, they might by producing him obtain a reward; but if no farther inquiries were made concerning him, they might then kill him. Not long afterwards Cambyses expressed regret for Crœsus, which when his attendants perceived, they told him that he was alive. He expressed particular satisfaction at the preservation of Crœsus, but he would not forgive the dis-

1 The mental derangement under which Saul labored, previous to the elevation of David, bears some resemblance to the character here given of Cambyses; and the escape of the son of Jesse from the javelin of the king of Israel, will admit of a comparison with that of Crœsus from the arrow of Cambyses.

obedience of his servants, who were accordingly executed.

XXXVII. Many things of this kind did he perpetrate against the Persians and his allies whilst he stayed at Memphis: neither did he hesitate to violate the tombs, and examine the bodies of the dead. He once entered the temple of Vulcan, and treated the shrine of that deity with much contempt. The statue of this god exceedingly resembles the Pataici, which the Phœnicians place at the prow of their triremes: they who have not seen them may suppose them to resemble the figure of a pigmy. Cambyses also entered the temple of the Cabiri, to which access is denied to all but the priests. He burned their statues, after exercising on them his wit and raillery. These statues resemble Vulcan, whose sons the Cabiri are supposed to be.

XXXVIII. For my own part, I am satisfied that Cambyses was deprived of his reason; he would not otherwise have disturbed the sanctity of temples, or of established customs. Whoever had the opportunity of choosing for their own observance, from all the nations of the world, such laws and customs as to them seemed the best, would, I am of opinion, after the most careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the most excellent; no one therefore but a madman would treat such prejudices with contempt. That all men are really thus tenacious of their own customs, appears from this, amongst other instances: Darius once sent for such of the Greeks as were dependent on his power, and asked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceased parents; they *replied that* no sum could prevail on *them to commit such* a deed. In the presence of the

same Greeks, who by an interpreter were informed of what passed, he sent also for the Callatiæ, a people of India known to eat the bodies of their parents. He asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were disgusted at the question, and entreated him to forbear such language.—Such is the force of custom; and Pindar seems to me to have spoken with peculiar propriety when he observed that custom[1] was the universal sovereign.

XXXIX. Whilst Cambyses was engaged in his Egyptian expedition the Lacedæmonians were prosecuting a war against Polycrates, the son of Æaces, who had forcibly possessed himself of Samos. He had divided it into three parts, assigning one severally to his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloson. He afterwards, having killed Pantagnotus, and banished Syloson, who was the younger, seized the whole. Whilst he was thus circumstanced, he made a treaty of alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt, which was cemented

1 Many writers on this subject appear not to have discriminated accurately betwixt custom and habit: the sovereign power of both must be confessed; but it will be found, on due deliberation, that custom has reference to the action, and habit to the actor. That the Athenians, the most refined and polished nation of the world, could bear to see human sacrifices represented in their theatres, could listen with applause and with delight to the misery of Œdipus, and the madness of Orestes, is to be accounted for alone from the powerful operation of their national customs. The equally forcible sway of habit, referring to an individual, was never perhaps expressed with so much beauty as in the following lines of our favorite Shakspeare:

> How use doth breed a habit in man!
> This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
> I better brook than florishing peopled towns.
> Here I can sit alone, unseen of any,
> *And to the* nightingale's complaining notes
> *Tune my* distresses, and record my woes.—T.

by various presents on both sides. His fame had so increased, that he was celebrated through Ionia and the rest of Greece. Success attended all his military undertakings; he had a hundred fifty-oared vessels, and a thousand archers. He made no discrimination in the objects of his attacks, thinking that he conferred a greater favor[1] even on a friend, by restoring what he had violently taken, than by not molesting them at all. He took a great number of islands, and became master of several cities on the continent. The Lesbians, who with all their forces were proceeding to assist the Milesians, he attacked and conquered in a great sea-fight. Those whom he made prisoners he put in chains, and compelled to sink the trench[2] which surrounds the walls of Samos.

XL. The great prosperity of Polycrates excited both the attention and anxiety of Amasis. As his success continually increased, he was induced to write and send this letter to Samis:

AMASIS TO POLYCRATES.

'The success of a friend and an ally fills me with particular satisfaction; but as I know the invidious-

1 This sentiment is false; and Libanius seems to me to have spoken with truth, when, in a discourse which is not come down to us, he says, 'An instance of good fortune never gives a man so much satisfaction as the loss of it does uneasiness.'—*Larcher*.

2 It would be an interesting labor to investigate, from ages the most remote, and nations the most barbarous, the various treatment which prisoners of war have experienced; from the period when every species of oppression and of cruelty was put in practice against their unfortunate captives, to the present period, *when the refinement of manners, and the progress of the milder virtues*, softens the asperity, and takes *much from the horrors of war*.—*T*.

ness of fortune,[1] your extraordinary prosperity cites my apprehensions. If I might determine myself, and for those whom I regard, I would rat have my affairs sometimes flattering, and someti perverse. I would wish to pass through life with alternate experience of good and evil, rather than v uninterrupted good fortune. I do not remembe

1 Three very distinct qualities of mind have been impı to the three Greek historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, with respect to their manner of reflecting on facts which they relate. Of the first, it has been said tha seems to have considered the deity as viewing man wi jealous eye, as only promoting his successes to make catastrophe of his fate the more calamitous. This is poi out by Plutarch with the severest reprehension. Thucydi on the contrary, admits of no divine interposition in hu affairs, but makes the good or ill fortune of those whose tory he gives us depend on the wisdom or folly of their conduct. Xenophon, in distinction from both, invari considers the kindness or the vengeance of Heaven as ir encing the event of human enterprises. 'That is,' says Abbé Barthelemy, 'according to the first, all sublunary th are governed by a fatality; according to the second, by hu prudence; according to the last, by the piety of the i vidual.'—The inconstancy of fortune is admirably descri in the following passage from Horace, and with the sentin with which the lines conclude every ingenuous mind n desire to be in unison.

Fortune, that with malicious joy
  Does man her slave oppress,
Proud of her office to destroy,
  Is seldom pleas'd to bless:
Still various, and inconstant still,
But with an inclination to be ill,
Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,
And makes a lottery of life.
I can enjoy her while she's kind,
But when she dances in the wind,
And shakes the wings, and will not stay,
I puff the prostitute away:
The little or the much she gave is quietly resign'd.
Content with poverty, my soul I arm,
And virtue, tho' in rags, will keep me warm.

Dryden's Version.—

have heard of any man remarkable for a constant succession of prosperous events, whose end has not been finally calamitous. If therefore you value my counsel, you will provide this remedy against the excess of your prosperity:—examine well what thing it is which you deem of the highest consequence to your happiness, and the loss of which would most afflict you. When you shall have ascertained this, banish it from you, so that there may be no possibility of its return. If after this your good fortune still continue without diminution or change, you will do well to repeat the remedy I propose.'

XLI. Polycrates received this letter, and seriously deliberated on its contents. The advice of Amasis appeared sagacious, and he resolved to follow it. He accordingly searched among his treasures for something, the loss of which would most afflict him. He conceived this to be a seal-ring,[1] which he occa-

1 This ring has been the subject of some controversy among the learned, both as to what it represented, and of what precious stone it was formed.

Clemens Alexandrinus says it represented a lyre. Pliny says it was a sardonyx; and that in his time there existed one in the temple of Concord, the gift of Augustus, affirmed to be this of Polycrates. Solinus asserts also that it was a sardonyx; but Herodotus expressly tells us it was an emerald. At this period the art of engraving precious stones must have been in its infancy, which might probably enhance the value of his ring to Polycrates. It is a little remarkable that the moderns have never been able to equal the ancients in the exquisite delicacy and beauty of their performances on precious stones. Perhaps it may not be too much to add, that we have never attained the perfection with which they executed all works in miniature. Pliny says that Cicero once saw the Iliad of Homer written so very finely, that it might have been contained in a nut-shell. Aulus Gellius mentions a pigeon made of wood, which imitated the motions of a living bird; and Ælian speaks of an artist who wrote a

sionally wore: it was an emerald set in gold, and workmanship of Theodorus the Samian, the son Telecles. Of this determining to deprive himself, embarked in a fifty-oared vessel, with orders to carried into the open sea: when he was at some d tance from the island, in the presence of all his atte ants, he took the ring from his finger and cast it i the sea; this done he sailed back again.

XLII. Returning home, he regretted his loss; in the course of five or six days this accident curred:—a fisherman caught a fish of such size a beauty, that he deemed it a proper present for Po crates. He went therefore to the palace, and demanc an audience; being admitted, he presented his fish Polycrates, with these words: 'Although, sir, I l by the produce of my industry, I could not think exposing this fish, which I have taken, to sale in market-place, believing it worthy of you to acce which I hope you will.' The king was much gratifi and made him this reply: 'My good friend, yo present and your speech are equally acceptable to m and I beg that I may see you at supper.'[1] The fish man, delighted with his reception, returned to

distich in letters of gold, which he inclosed in the rind o grain of corn. Other instances of a similar kind are collec by the learned Mr. Dutens, in his Inquiry into the Origin the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns.—*T.*

1 The circumstance of a sovereign prince asking a comm fisherman to sup with him seems, at first sight, so intirely pugnant, not only to modern manners but also to consisten as to justify disgust and provoke suspicion. But let it remembered that in ancient times the rites of hospitality w paid without any distinction of person; and the same si plicity of manners which would allow an individual of meanest rank to solicit and obtain an audience of his prin diminishes the act of condescension which is here record and which to a modern reader may appear ridiculous.—T.

house. The servants proceeding to open the fish, found in its paunch the ring of Polycrates; with great eagerness and joy they hastened to carry it to the king, telling him where they had met with it. Polycrates concluded that this incident bore evident marks of divine interposition; he therefore wrote down every particular of what had happened, and transmitted it to Egypt.

XLIII. Amasis after perusing the letter of his friend, was convinced that it was impossible for one mortal to deliver another from the destiny which awaited him: he was satisfied that Polycrates could not terminate his days in tranquillity, whose good fortune had never suffered interruption, and who had even recovered what he had taken pains to lose. He sent therefore a herald to Samos, to disclaim all future connexion;[1] his motive for doing which, was the apprehension, that in any future calamity which might befall Polycrates, he, as a friend and ally, might be obliged to bear a part.

XLIV. Against this Polycrates, in all things so prosperous, the Lacedæmonians undertook an expedition, to which they were induced by those Samians who afterwards built the city of Cydon in Crete. To

1 This may be adduced as one amongst numerous other instances, to prove that where the human mind has no solid hopes of the future, nor any firm basis of religious faith, the conduct will ever be wayward and irregular; and although there may exist great qualities, capable of occasionally splendid actions, there will also be extraordinary weaknesses, irreconcilable to common sense or common humanity. Diodorus Siculus, however, gives a very different account of the matter, and ascribes the behavior of Amasis to a very different motive:—'The Egyptian,' says he, 'was so disgusted with the tyrannical behavior of Polycrates, not only to his subjects but to strangers, that he foresaw his fate to be unavoidable, and therefore was cautious not to be involved in his ruin.' —*T.*

counteract this blow Polycrates sent privately to Cambyses, who was then preparing for hostilities against Egypt, entreating him to demand supplies and assistance of the Samians. With this Cambyses willingly complied, and sent to solicit in favor of Polycrates some naval force to serve in his Egyptian expedition. Those whose principles and intentions he most suspected the Samian prince selected from the rest, and sent in forty triremes to Cambyses, requesting him by all means to prevent their return.

XLV. There are some who assert that the Samians sent by Polycrates never arrived in Egypt, but that as soon as they reached the Carpathian sea they consulted together, and determined to proceed no farther. Others, on the contrary, affirm that they did arrive in Egypt, but that they escaped from their guards, and returned to Samos: they add, that Polycrates met and engaged them at sea, where he was defeated; but that, landing afterwards on the island, they had a second engagement by land, in which they were totally routed, and obliged to fly to Lacedæmon. They who assert that the Samians returned from Egypt, and obtained a victory over Polycrates, are in my opinion mistaken; for if their own force was sufficient to overcome him, there was no necessity for their applying to the Lacedæmonians for assistance. Neither is it at all consistent with probability, that a prince who had so many forces under his command, composed as well of foreign auxiliaries as of archers of his own, could possibly be overcome by the few Samians who were returning home. Polycrates, moreover, had in his power the wives and children of his Samian subjects: these were all assembled and confined in his different harbors; and he was determined to destroy them by fire, and the harbors along with them, in case of any

treasonable conjunction between the inhabitants and the Samians who were returning.

XLVI. The Samians who were expelled by Polycrates immediately on their arrival at Sparta obtained an audience of the magistrates, and in the language of suppliants spoke a great while. The answer which they first received informed them that the commencement of their discourse was not remembered, and the conclusion not understood. At the second interview they simply produced a bread-basket, and complained that it contained no bread; even to this the Lacedæmonians replied that their observation was unnecessary:[1]—they determined nevertheless to assist them.

XLVII. After the necessary preparations, the Lacedæmonians embarked with an army against Samos. If these Samians may be credited, the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in this business was the effect of gratitude, they themselves having formerly received a supply of ships against the Messenians. But the Lacedæmonians assert that they engaged in this expedition not so much to satisfy the wishes of those Samians who had sought their assistance, as to obtain satisfac-

1 The Spartans were always remarkable for their contempt of oratory and eloquence. The following curious examples of this are recorded in Sextus Empiricus:—'A young Spartan went abroad, and endeavored to accomplish himself in the art of speaking; on his return he was punished by the ephori, for having conceived the design of deluding his countrymen. Another Spartan was sent to Tissaphernes, a Persian satrap, to engage him to prefer the alliance of Sparta to that of Athens: he said but little; but when he found the Athenians employed great pomp and profusion of words, he drew two lines, both terminating in the same point, but one was straight, the other very crooked; pointing these out to Tissaphernes, he merely said, 'Choose.' The story here related of the Samians by Herodotus is found also in Sextus Empiricus, but is by *him applied on a different* occasion, and to a different *people.*

tion for an injury which they had formerly received. The Samians had violently taken away a goblet which the Lacedæmonians were carrying to Crœsus, and a corselet,[1] which was given them by Amasis king of Egypt. This latter incident took place at the interval of a year after the former: the corselet was made of linen, but there were interwoven in the piece a great number of animals richly embroidered with cotton and gold; every part of it deserved admiration: it was composed of chains, each of which contained three hundred and sixty threads distinctly visible. Amasis presented another corselet, intirely resembling this, to the Minerva of Lindus.

XLVIII. To this expedition against Samos the Corinthians also contributed with considerable ardor. In the age which preceded, and about the time in which the goblet had been taken, they had been affronted by the Samians. Periander,[2] the son of Cypselus, had

1 Some fragments of this were to be seen in the time of Pliny, who complains that so curious a piece of workmanship should be spoiled, by its being unravelled by different people, to gratify curiosity, or to ascertain the fact here asserted.—*T.*

2 The life of Periander is given by Diogenes Laertius; from which I have extracted such particulars as seem most worthy the attention of the English reader.

He was of the family of the Heraclidæ; and the reason of his sending the young Corcyreans, with the purpose mentioned by Herodotus, was on account of their having killed his son, to whom he wished to resign his power. He was the first prince who used guards for the defence of his person, He was by some esteemed one of the seven wise men: Plato however does not admit him amongst them. His celebrated saying was, that 'Perseverance may do every thing.'

In an epigram inserted in Stephens' Anthologia, and translated by Ausonius, the maxim attributed to Periander is, 'Restrain your anger:' of which rule he must have severely felt the necessity, if, as Laertius relates, he killed his wife *Melissa in* a transport of passion, by kicking her or throwing a *chair at her* when pregnant. Her name, according to the

sent to Alyattes, at Sardis, three hundred children of the principal families of the Corcyreans to be ill-used. They were intrusted to the care of certain Corinthians, who by distress of weather were compelled to touch at Samos. The Samians soon learned the purpose of the expedition, and accordingly instructed the children to fly for protection to the temple of Diana, from whence they would not suffer the Corinthians to take them. But as the Corinthians prevented their receiving any food, the Samians instituted a festival on the occasion, which they yet observe. At the approach of night, as long as the children continued as suppliants in the temple, they introduced a company of youths and virgins, who in a kind of religious dance, were to carry cakes made of honey and flour[1] in their hands. This was done that the young Corcyreans, by snatching them away, might satisfy their hunger, and was repeated till the Corinthians who guarded the children departed. The Samians afterwards sent the children back to Corcyra.

XLIX. If after the death of Periander there had existed any friendship betwixt the Corinthians and the Corcyreans, it might be supposed that they would not have assisted in this expedition against Samos. But notwithstanding these people had the same origin (the Corinthians having built Corcyra), they had always lived in a state of enmity. The Corinthians therefore did not forget the affront which they had received at Samos; and it was in resentment of injuries formerly received from the Corcyreans, that

same author, was Lyside. Melissa was probably substituted through fondness, certain nymphs and departed human souls being called *Melissæ*.—*Menage*.—*T*.

1 The cakes of *Samos* were very famous.—See Athenæus, *book xiv. c. 13.*

Periander had sent to Sardis these three hundred youths of the first families of Corcyra, with the intention of ill-using them.

L. When Periander had put his wife Melissa to death, he was involved in an additional calamity. By Melissa he had two sons, one of whom was seventeen, the other eighteen years old: Procles, their grandfather by the mother's side, had sent for them to Epidaurus, of which place he was prince; and had treated them with all the kindness due to the children of his daughter. At the time appointed for their departure he took them aside, and asked them if they knew who had killed their mother. To these words the elder brother paid no attention; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, took it so exceedingly to heart, that at his return to Corinth he would neither salute his father, converse with, nor answer him; in indignation at which behavior Periander banished him his house.

LI. After the above event, Periander asked his elder son what their grandfather had said to them. The youth informed him that their grandfather had received them very affectionately; but as he did not remember, he could not relate the words he had used to them at parting. The father however continued to press him; saying, it was impossible that their grandfather should dismiss them without some advice. This induced the young man more seriously to reflect on what had passed; and he afterwards informed his father of every particular. On this, Periander was determined not at all to relax his severity, but immediately sent to those who had received his son under their protection, commanding them to dismiss him. Lycophron was thus driven from one place to another, and from thence to a third, and from this last also the

severity of Periander expelled him. Yet fearful as people were to entertain him, he still found an asylum, from the consideration of his being the son of Periander.

LII. Periander at length commanded it to be publicly proclaimed, that whoever harbored his son, or held any conversation with him, should pay a stipulated fine for the use of Apollo's temple. After this no person presumed either to receive or converse with him, and Lycophron himself acquiesced in the injunction, by retiring to the public portico. On the fourth day Periander himself observed him in this situation, covered with rags and perishing with hunger: his heart relenting, he approached, and thus addressed him: 'My son, which do you think preferable, your present extremity of distress, or to return to your obedience, and share with me my authority and riches? You who are my son, and a prince of the happy Corinth, choose the life of a mendicant, and persevere in irritating him who has the strongest claims on your duty. If the incident which induces you to think unfavorably of my conduct has any evil resulting from it, the whole is fallen on myself; and I feel it the more sensibly, from the reflection that I was myself the author of it. Experience has taught you how much better it is to be envied than pitied,[1] and how danger-

1 Of this M. Larcher remarks that it is a proverbial expression in the French language: it is no less so in our own. The same sentiment in Pindar is referred to by the learned Frenchman; which is thus beautifully translated by Mr. West:

Nor less distasteful is excessive fame
  To the sour palate of the envious mind;
Who hears with grief his neighbor's goodly name,
  And hates the fortune that he ne'er shall find.

ous it is to provoke a superior and a parent:—return therefore to my house.' To this speech Periander received no other answer from his son, than that he himself, by conversing with him, had incurred the penalty which his edict had imposed. The king, perceiving the perverseness of his son to be immutable, determined to remove him from his sight; he therefore sent him in a vessel to Corcyra, which place also belonged to him. After this Periander made war on his father-in-law Procles, whom he considered as the principal occasion of what had happened. He made himself master of Epidaurus,[1] and took Procles prisoner; whom nevertheless he preserved alive.

LIII. In process of time, as Periander advanced in years, he began to feel himself inadequate to the cares of government; he sent therefore for Lycophron to Corcyra, to take on him the administration of affairs: his eldest son appeared improper for such a situation, and was indeed dull and stupid. Of the messenger who brought him this intelligence Lycophron disdained

Yet in thy virtue, Hiero, persevere,
Since to be envied is a nobler fate
Than to be pitied, and let strict justice steer
With equitable hand the helm of state,
And arm thy tongue with truth: O king! beware
Of every step: a prince can never lightly err.—*T.*

1 This was a city of the Peloponnesus, famous for a temple of Æsculapius. When the Romans were once afflicted by a grievous pestilence, they were ordered by the oracle to bring Æsculapius to Rome; they accordingly despatched ambassadors to Epidaurus to accomplish this. The Epidaurians refusing to part with their god, the Romans prepared to depart: as their vessel was quitting the port, an immense serpent came swimming towards them, and finally wreathed itself round the prow; the crew, thinking it to be Æsculapius himself, carried him with much veneration to Rome.—His *entrance is finely* described by Ovid.—T.

o take the smallest notice. But Periander, as he elt his affection for the young man to be unalterable, ent to him his sister, thinking her interposition most ikely to succeed. When she saw him, 'Brother,' aid she, 'will you suffer the sovereign authority to ass into other hands, and the wealth of your family o be dispersed, rather than return to enjoy them ourself? Let me entreat you to punish yourself no nore; return to your country and your family: obtinacy like yours is but an unwelcome guest, it only dds one evil to another. Pity is by many preferred o justice; and many from their anxiety to fulfil their luty to a mother, have violated that which a father might expect. Power, which many so assiduously court, is in its nature precarious. Your father is growing old; do not therefore resign to others honors which are properly your own.' Thus instructed by her father, she used every argument likely to influence her brother; but he briefly answered, 'that as long as his father lived he would not return to Corinth.' When she had communicated this answer to Periander, he sent a third messenger to his son, informing him that it was his intention to retire to Corcyra; but that he might return to Corinth and take possession of the supreme authority. This proposition was accepted, and Periander prepared to depart for Corcyra, the young man for Corinth. But when the Corcyreans were informed of the business, to prevent the arrival of Periander among them, they put his son to death.—This was what induced that prince to take vengeance of the Corcyreans.

LIV. The Lacedæmonians arriving with a powerful fleet, laid siege to Samos, and advancing towards the walls, they *passed by* a tower which stands in the *suburbs, not far from* the sea. At this juncture Poly-

crates attacked them, at the head of a considerable force, and compelled them to retreat. He was instantly seconded by a band of auxiliaries, and a great number of Samians, who falling on the enemy from a fort which was behind the mountain, after a short conflict effectually routed them, and continued the pursuit with great slaughter of the Lacedæmonians.

LV. If all the Lacedæmonians in this engagement had behaved like Archias and Lycopas, Samos must certainly have been taken; for these two alone entered the city, with those Samians who sought security within the walls, and having no means of retreat were there slain. I myself one day met with a person of the same name, who was the son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias above-mentioned; I saw him at Pitane, of which place he was a native. This person paid more attention to Samians than to other foreigners; and he told me, that his father was called Samius, as being the immediate descendant of him who with so much honor had lost his life at Samos. The reason of his thus distinguishing the Samians was because they had honored his grandfather by a public funeral.[1]

1 The manner in which the funerals of those who had died in defence of their country were solemnised at Athens cannot fail of giving the English reader an elevated idea of that polished people.

On an appointed day a number of coffins made of cypress wood, and containing the bones of the deceased, were exposed to view beneath a large tent erected for the purpose; they who had relations to deplore assembled to weep over them, and pay the duties dictated by tenderness, or enjoined by religion. Three days afterwards the coffins were placed on as many cars as there were tribes, and were carried slowly through the town to the Ceramicus, where funeral games were celebrated. The bodies were deposited in the earth, and their relations and friends paid for the last time the tribute of their tears: an orator appointed by the repub

LVI. The Lacedæmonians, after remaining forty days before the place without any advantage, returned to the Peloponnesus. It is reported, though absurdly enough, that Polycrates struck off a great number of pieces of lead cased with gold,[1] like the coin of the country, and that with these he purchased their departure.—This was the first expedition of the Dorians of Lacedæmon into Asia.

LVII. Those Samians who had taken up arms against Polycrates, when they saw themselves forsaken by the Lacedæmonians, and were distressed from want of money, embarked for Siphnos.[2] At this

lic from an elevated place pronounced a funeral oration over his valiant countrymen; each tribe raised over the graves some kind of column, on which was inscribed the names of the deceased, their age, and the place where they died.

The above solemnities were conducted under the inspection of one of the principal magistrates.

The most magnificent public funeral of which we have any account, was that of Alexander the Great, when his body was brought from Babylon to Alexandria; a minute description of which is given by Diodorus Siculus.

For a particular description of the ceremonies observed at public and private funerals amongst the Romans, consult Montfaucon.—*T.*

1 Similar to this artifice was that practised on the people of Gortyna in Crete by Hannibal, as recorded by Justin. After the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans Hannibal retired to Gortyna, carrying with him an immense treasure. This circumstance exciting an invidiousness against him, he pretended to deposit his riches in the temple of Diana, to which place he carried with much ceremony several vessels filled with lead. He soon took an opportunity of passing over into Asia with his real wealth, which he had concealed in the images of the gods he affected to worship.—*T.*

2 This was one of those small islands lying opposite to Attica: they were seventeen in number, and called, from their situation with respect to each other, the Cyclades: they were all eminently beautiful, and severally distinguished by some appropriate excellence. The marble of Paros was of inimitable whiteness, and of the finest grain; Andros and Naxos produced the most exquisite wine; Amen-

time the power of the Siphnians was very considerable, and they were the richest of all the inhabitants of the islands. Their soil produced both the gold and silver metals in such abundance, that from a tenth part of their revenues they had a treasury at Delphi equal in value to the riches which that temple possessed. Every year they made an equal distribution among themselves of the value of their mines: whilst their wealth was thus accumulating, they consulted the oracle, to know whether they should long continue in the enjoyment of their present good fortune. From the Pythian they received this answer:

When Siphnos shall a milk-white senate show,
And all her market wear a front of snow:
Him let her prize whose wit suspects the most,
A scarlet envoy from a wooden host.

At this period the prytaneum, and the forum of Siphnos, were adorned with Parian marble.

LVIII. This reply of the oracle the Siphnians were unable to comprehend, both before and after the arrival of the Samians. As soon as the Samians touched at Siphnos, they despatched a messenger to the town

gos was famous for a dye made from a lichen, growing there in vast abundance. The riches of Siphnos are extolled by many ancient writers; it is now called Siphanto.

The following account of the modern circumstances of Siphnos is extracted principally from Tournefort.

It is remarkable for the purity of its air; the water, fruit, and poultry are very excellent. Although covered with marble and granite, it is one of the most fertile islands of the Archipelago. They have a famous manufactory of straw hats, which are sold all over the Archipelago by the name of Siphanto castors: though once so famous for its mines, the inhabitants can now hardly tell you where they were. They have plenty of lead, which the rains discover. The ladies of *Siphanto* cover their faces with linen bandages so dexter*ously, that you* can only see their mouth, nose, and white of *the eyes.—T.*

in one of their vessels. According to the ancient custom, all ships were painted of a red color; and it was this which induced the Pythian to warn the Siphnians against a wooden snare, and a red ambassador. On their arrival, the Samian ambassadors entreated the inhabitants to lend them ten talents; on being refused, they plundered the country. The Siphnians hearing of this, collected their forces, and were defeated in a regular engagement; a great number were in the retreat cut off from the town, and the Samians afterwards exacted a hundred talents.

LIX. Instead of money the Samians had received of the Hermionians the island of Thyrea, adjacent to the Peloponnesus: this they afterwards gave as a pledge to the Trœzenians. They afterwards made a voyage to Crete, where they built Cydonia, although their object in going there was to expel the Zacynthians. In this place they continued five years, during which period they were so exceedingly prosperous, that they not only erected all those temples which are now seen in Cydonia, but built also the temple of Dictynna. In the sixth year, from a junction being made with the Cretans by the Æginetæ, they were totally vanquished in a sea engagement, and reduced to servitude. The prows of their vessels were taken away and defaced, and afterwards suspended in the temple of Minerva at Ægina. To this conduct towards the Samians the Æginetæ were impelled in resentment of a former injury. When Amphicrates reigned at Samos, he had carried on a war against the Æginetæ, by which they materially suffered; this however they severely retaliated.

LX. I have been thus particular in my account of the Samians, *because this* people produced the greatest *monuments of* art which are to be seen in Greece.

They have a mountain which is one hundred and fifty orgyiæ in height; intirely through this they have made a passage, the length of which is seven stadia; it is moreover eight feet high and as many wide. By the side of this there is also an artificial canal, which in like manner goes quite through the mountain, and though only three feet in breadth, is twenty cubits deep. This, by the means of pipes, conveys to the city the waters of a copious spring.[1] This is their first work, and constructed by Eupalinus, the son of Naustrophus, an inhabitant of Megara. Their second is a mole, which projects from the harbor into the sea, and is two stadia or more in length, and about twenty orgyiæ in height. Their last performance was a temple, which exceeds in grandeur all I have seen. This structure was first commenced by a native of the country, whose name was Rhœcus,[2] son of Phileus.

1 On the left of the dale, near to the aqueduct which crosses it, are certain caverns, the entrance of some of them artificially cut. In all appearance some of these artificial caverns were what Herodotus says were ranked among the most wonderful performances of the Greek nation. The beautiful spring which tempted them to go on so great a work, is doubtless that of Metelinous, the best in the island, the disposition of the place proving perfectly favorable, the moment they had conquered the difficulty of boring it; but in all probability they were not exact enough in levelling the ground, for they were obliged to dig a canal of twenty cubits deep for carrying the spring to the place designed. There must have been some mistake in this passage of Herodotus.

2 This Rhœcus was not only a skilful architect, but he farther invented, in conjunction with Theodorus of Samos, the art of making moulds with clay, long before the Bacchiades had been driven from Corinth; they were also the first who made casts in brass, of which they formed statues. Pausanias relates the same fact, with this addition, that on a pedestal behind the altar of Diana, called Protothenia, there is a statue by Rhœcus; it is a woman in bronze, said by the Ephesians to be that of Night. He had two sons, Telecles and Theodorus, both ingenious statuaries.—Larcher.

LXI. Whilst Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, passed his time in Egypt, committing various excesses, two magi, who were brothers, and one of whom Cambyses had left in Persia as the manager of his domestic concerns, excited a revolt against him. The death of Smerdis, which had been studiously kept secret, and was known to very few of the Persians, who in general believed that he was alive, was a circumstance to which the last-mentioned of these magi had been privy, and of which he determined to avail himself. His brother, who, as we have related, joined with him in this business, not only resembled in person,[1] but had the very name of the young prince, the son of Cyrus, who had been put to death by the order of his brother Cambyses. Him, Patizithes, the other magus, publicly introduced and placed on the royal throne, having previously instructed him in the part he was to perform. Having done this, he sent messengers to different places, and one in particular to the Egyptian army, ordering them to obey Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, alone.

LXII. These orders were every where obeyed. The messenger who came to Egypt found Cambyses with the army at Ecbatana, in Syria. He entered into the midst of the troops,[2] and executed the com-

1 Similar historical incidents will here occur to the most common reader, there having been no state whose annals are come down to us in which, from the similitude of person, factious individuals have not excited commotions. In the Roman government a false Pompey and a false Drusus claim our attention, because one exercised the political sagacity of Cicero, the other employed the pen of Tacitus. Neither have we in our own country been without similar impostors, the examples of which must be too familiar to require insertion here.—*T.*

2 It may to an *English* reader at first sight seem extraordinary that any person should dare to execute such a commis-

mission which had been given him. When Cambyses heard this, he was not aware of any fallacy, but imagined that Prexaspes, whom he had sent to put Smerdis to death, had neglected to obey his commands. 'Prexaspes,' said the king, 'thou hast not fulfilled my orders.'—'Sir,' he replied, 'you are certainly deceived; it is impossible that your brother should rebel against you, or occasion you the smallest trouble. I not only executed your orders concerning Smerdis, but I buried him with my own hands. If the dead can rise again, you may expect also a rebellion from Astyages the Mede; but if things go on in their usual course, you can have nothing to apprehend from your brother. I would recommend therefore that you send for this herald, and demand by what authority he claims our allegiance to Smerdis.'

sion as this, and should venture himself on such a business amongst the troops of a man whose power had been so long established, and whose cruelty must have been notorious. But the persons of heralds, as the functions they were to perform were the most important possible, were on all occasions sacred. Homer more than once calls them the sacred ministers of gods and men: they denounced war, and proclaimed peace. It has been a matter of dispute amongst the learned from whence this sanctity was conferred on them; they were said to be descended from Cenyx, the son of Mercury, and under the protection of that god. This office, in Athens and Sparta, was hereditary. In Athens, as I have observed, the heralds were said to be derived from Cenyx; in Sparta, from Talthybius, the celebrated herald of Agamemnon. They usually carried a staff of laurel in their hands, sometimes of olive; round this two serpents were twisted. To what an extreme this reverence for the persons of ambassadors or heralds was carried will appear from the book Polyhymnia, chap. 134. It is almost unnecessary to add, that in modern times the persons of ambassadors are in like manner deemed sacred, unless the treatment which in case of war they receive at Constantinople be deemed an exception. The moment that war is declared against any foreign power, the representative of that power is seized, and sent as a prisoner to the Black Tower.—*T.*

LXIII. This advice was agreeable to Cambyses: the person of the herald was accordingly seized, and he was thus addressed by Prexaspes: 'You say, my friend, that you come from Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but I would advise you to be cautious, as your safety will depend on your speaking the truth; tell me, therefore, did Smerdis himself intrust you with this commission, or did you receive it from some one of his officers?'—'I must confess,' replied the herald, 'that since the departure of Cambyses on this Egyptian expedition I have never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. I received my present commission from the magus to whom Cambyses intrusted the management of his domestic affairs; he it was who told me that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, commanded me to execute this business.' This was the sincere answer of the herald; on which Cambyses thus addressed Prexaspes: 'I perceive that, like a man of integrity, you performed my commands, and have been guilty of no crime: but what Persian, assuming the name of Smerdis, has revolted against me?' 'Sir,' answered Prexaspes, 'I believe I comprehend the whole of this business: the magi have excited this rebellion against you; namely, Patizithes, to whom you intrusted the management of your household, and Smerdis, his brother.'

LXIV. As soon as Cambyses heard the name of Smerdis, he was impressed with conviction of the truth; and he immediately perceived the real signification of the dream in which he had seen Smerdis seated on the royal throne, and touching the firmament with his head. Acknowleging that without any just cause he had destroyed his brother, he lamented him with tears. After indulging for a while in the *extremest sorrow*, which a sense of his misfortunes

prompted, he leaped hastily on his horse, determining to lead his army instantly to Susa against the rebels. In doing this the sheath fell from his sword, which being thus naked, wounded him in the thigh. The wound was in the very place in which he had before struck Apis, the deity of the Egyptians. As soon as the blow appeared to be mortal Cambyses anxiously inquired the name of the place where he was: they told him it was called Ecbatana. An oracle from Butos had warned him that he should end his life at Ecbatana; this he understood of Ecbatana of the Medes, where all his treasures were deposited, and where he conceived he was in his old age to die. The oracle, however, spoke of the Syrian Ecbatana. When he learned the name of the town, the vexation arising from the rebellion of the magus, and the pain of his wound, restored him to his proper senses. 'This,' he exclaimed, remembering the oracle, 'is doubtless the place in which Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is destined to die.'

LXV. On the twentieth day after the above event he convened the more illustrious of the Persians who were with him, and thus addressed them:—'What has happened to me compels me to disclose to you what I anxiously desired to conceal. Whilst I was in Egypt I beheld in my sleep a vision, which I could wish had never appeared to me. A messenger seemed to arrive from home, informing me that Smerdis, sitting on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. It is not in the power of men to counteract destiny; but fearing that my brother would deprive me of my kingdom, I yielded to passion rather than to prudence. Infatuated as I was, I despatched Prexaspes to Susa to put Smerdis to death. After this great crime I lived with more confidence, believing

hat Smerdis being dead, no one else would rise up gainst me. But my ideas of the future were fallaious: I have murdered my brother, a crime equally nnecessary and atrocious, and am nevertheless derived of my power. It was Smerdis the magus[1]

1 Mr. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Language, tc. of Eastern Nations, speaking of the disagreement beween the Grecian and Asiatic history of Persia, makes the ollowing remarks:

'From this period (610 before Christ) till the Macedonian onquest we have the history of the Persians as given us by he Greeks, and the history of the Persians as written by hemselves. Between these classes of writers we might naurally expect some difference of facts; but we should as aturally look for a few great lines which might mark some imilarity of story: yet from every research which I have ad an opportunity to make there seems to be nearly as much esemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as etween the European and Asiatic relations of the same emire. The names and numbers of their kings have no anaogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Greek istorians, the Persians are intirely silent. We have no aention of the great Cyrus, nor of any king of Persia who in he events of his reign can apparently be forced into a simiitude. We have no Crœsus, king of Lydia; not a syllable of Cambyses, or of his frantic expedition against the Ethioians. Smerdis Magus, and the succession of Darius, the on of Hystaspes, by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown, as the numerous ssassinations recorded by the Greeks,' &c.

To do away, at least in part, any impression to the prejulice of Grecian history, which may be made by perusing the bove remarks of Mr. Richardson, the reader is presented vith the following sentiments of Mr. Gibbon:

'So little has been preserved of eastern history before Maomet, that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the ictory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation.'

The incident here mentioned is the victory of Sapor over Valerian the Roman emperor, who was defeated, taken prioner, and died in captivity. This happened in the year 260 f the Christian era. Mahomet was born in the year 571 of he same era; if therefore Mr. Gibbon's observation be well ounded, which it *appears to* be, Mr. Richardson's objections all *to the ground.*

whom the divinity pointed out to me in my c
and who has now taken arms against me. T
being thus circumstanced, it becomes you to re
ber that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, is actually
and that the two magi, one with whom I left th
of my household, and Smerdis, his brother, a
men who now claim your obedience. He whose
it would have been to have revenged on these
any injuries done to me, has unworthily perish
those who were nearest to him: but since he
more, I must now tell you, O Persians! what I
have you do when I am dead:—I entreat you a
those gods who watch over kings, and chiefly yo
are of the race of Achæmenides, that you will
permit this empire to revert to the Medes. If b
stratagem they shall have seized it, by stratag
you recover it. If they have by force obtained
you by force wrest it from them. If you shall
my advice, may the earth give you its fruits in
dance! may you ever be free, and your wive
your flocks prolific! If you do not obey me—
neither recover nor attempt to recover the e
may the reverse of my wishes befall you! and
every Persian meet a fate like mine!'

LXVI. Cambyses having thus spoken, bewail
misfortunes. When the Persians saw the kin
involved in sorrow they tore their garments, a
pressed their grief aloud. After a very short in
the bone became infected, the whole of the thigh
tified, and death ensued. Thus died Cambyse
of Cyrus, after a reign of seven years and five mo
leaving no offspring, male or female. The Pe

1 *Clemens* Alexandrinus makes him reign ten y
Larcher.

who were present could not be persuaded that the magi had assumed the supreme authority, but rather believed that what Cambyses had asserted concerning the death of Smerdis was prompted by his hatred of that prince, and his wish to excite the general animosity of the Persians against him. They were therefore generally satisfied that it was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, who had assumed the sovereignty. To which they were the more inclined, because Prexaspes afterwards positively denied that he had put Smerdis to death. When Cambyses was dead he could not safely have confessed that he had killed the son of Cyrus.

LXVII. After the death of Cambyses, the magus, by the favor of his name, pretending to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, reigned in security during the seven months which completed the eighth year of the reign of Cambyses. In this period he distinguished the various dependants on his power by his great munificence; so that after his death he was seriously regretted by all the inhabitants of Asia, except the Persians. He commenced his reign by publishing every where an edict which exempted his subjects for the space of three years both from tribute and military service.

LXVIII. In the eighth month he was detected in the following manner: Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, was of the first rank of the Persians, both with regard to birth and affluence. This nobleman was the first who suspected that this was not Smerdis the son of Cyrus; and was induced to suppose who he really was from his never quitting the citadel, and from his not inviting any of the nobles to his presence. Suspicious of the imposture, he took these measures:—he had a daughter named Phædyma, who had been married to Cambyses, and whom, with the other wives of

the late king, the usurper had taken to himself. Otanes sent a message to her to know whether she lived with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or with any other person. She returned for answer, 'that she could not tell, as she had never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, nor did she know the person with whom she lived.' Otanes sent a second time to his daughter: 'If,' says he, 'you do not know the person of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, inquire of Atossa who it is with whom you and she live; for she must necessarily know her brother. To which she thus replied: 'I can neither speak to Atossa, nor indeed see any of the women that live with him. Since this person, whoever he is, came to the throne, the women have all been kept separate.'[1]

1 Chardin, speaking of the death of a king of Persia, and the intemperate grief of his wives, says that the reason why the women on such occasions are so deeply affected, is not only for the loss of the king their husband, but for the loss of that shadow of liberty which they enjoyed during his life; for no sooner is the prince laid in his tomb but they are all shut up in particular houses. Tournefort tells us that after the death of the sultan at Constantinople the women whom he honored, and their eldest daughters, are removed into the old seraglio of Constantinople; the younger are sometimes left for the new emperor, or are married to the bashas.

It appears that in the East from the remotest times females have been jealously secluded from the other sex. Nevertheless, we learn from modern travellers that this is done with some restrictions, and that they are not only suffered to communicate with each other, but on certain days to leave the haram or seraglio, and take their amusements abroad.

Where a plurality of wives is allowed each, it should seem from Tournefort, has a distinct and separate apartment. 'I was extremely at a loss,' says he, 'how to behave to the great men of the East, when I was called in, and visited, as a physician, the apartments of their wives. These apartments are just like the dormitories of our religious, and at every door I found an arm covered with gauze, thrust out through a *small loop-hole,* made on purpose: at first I fancied they *were arms of* wood or brass, to serve for sconces to light up

LXIX. This reply more and more justified the suspicions of Otanes: he sent therefore a third time to his daughter: 'My daughter,' he observed, 'it becomes you, who are nobly born, to engage in a dangerous enterprise when your father commands you. If this Smerdis be not the son of Cyrus, but the man whom I suspect, he ought not, possessing your person and the sovereignty of Persia, to escape with impunity. Do this, therefore:—when next you shall be admitted to him, and shall observe that he is asleep, examine whether he has any ears: if he has, you may be secure you are with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but if he has not, it can be no other than Smerdis, one of the magi.' To this Phædyma replied, 'that she would obey him, notwithstanding the danger she incurred; being well assured that if he had no ears, and should discover her in endeavoring to know this, she should be instantly put to death.' Cyrus had in his lifetime deprived this Smerdis of his ears[1] for some atrocious crime.

candles in at night; but it surprised me when I was told I must cure the persons to whom these arms belonged.' The easterns listen with much astonishment to the familiarity prevailing betwixt the sexes in Europe. When told that no evil results from this, they answer with a proverb, 'Bring butter too near the fire, and you will hardly keep it from melting.'—*T.*

1 The discovery of this imposture was long celebrated in Persia as an annual festival. By reason of the great slaughter of the magians then made, it was called magophonia. It was also from this time that they first had the name of magians, which signified the cropt-eared, which was then given them on account of this impostor, who was thus cropt. Mige-gush signified, in the language of the country then in use, one that had his ears cropt, and from a ringleader of that sect who was thus cropt the author of the famous Arabic lexicon called Camus tells us they had all this name given them; and what *Herodotus and* Justin and other authors write of *this Smerdis plainly* shows that he was the man.—Prideaux.

Phædyma complied in all respects with the injunctions of her father. The wives of the Persians sleep with their husbands by turns. When this lady next slept with the magus, as soon as she saw him in a profound sleep she tried to touch his ears; and being perfectly satisfied that he had none, as soon as it was day she communicated the intelligence to her father.

LXX. Otanes instantly revealed the secret to Aspathines and Gobryas, two of the noblest of the Persians, on whose fidelity he could depend, and who had themselves suspected the imposture. It was agreed that each should disclose the business to the friend in whom he most confided. Otanes therefore chose Intaphernes; Gobryas, Megabyzus; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. The conspirators being thus six in number, Darius, son of Hystaspes, arrived at Susa from Persia, where his father was governor, when they instantly agreed to make him also an associate.

LXXI. These seven met,[1] and after mutual vows of fidelity consulted together. As soon as Darius was to speak, he thus addressed his confederates: 'I was of opinion that the death of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and the usurpation of the magus, were circumstances known only to myself; and my immediate purpose in coming here was to accomplish the usurper's death. But since you are also acquainted with the matter, I think that all delay will be dangerous, and that we should instantly execute our intentions.'—'Son of Hystaspes,' replied Otanes, 'born of a noble parent, you seem the inheritor of your father's virtue; nevertheless, be not precipitate, but let us enter on this business with caution: for my own part, I am averse to

1 Mithridates, king of Pontus, who afterwards gave so *much trouble to* the Romans, was descended from one of *these conspirators*: see book vii. chap. ii.—Larcher.

undertake any thing till we shall have strengthened our party.'—'My friends,' resumed Darius, 'if you follow the advice of Otanes, your ruin is inevitable. The hope of reward will induce some one to betray your designs to the magus. An enterprise like this should be accomplished by yourselves, disdaining all assistance: but since you have revealed the secret, and added me to your party, let us this very day put our designs in execution; for I declare, if this day pass without our fulfilling our intentions, no one shall to-morrow betray me; I will myself disclose the conspiracy to the magus.'

LXXII. When Otanes observed the ardor of Darius; 'Since,' he replied, 'you will not suffer us to defer, but precipitate us to the termination of our purpose, explain how we shall obtain entrance into the palace, and attack the usurpers. That there are guards regularly stationed, if you have not seen them yourself, you must have known from others: how shall we elude these?'—'There are many circumstances, Otanes,' returned Darius, 'which we cannot so well explain by our words as by our actions. There are others which may be made very plausible by words, but are capable of no splendor in the execution. You cannot suppose that it will be difficult for us to pass the guards; who amongst them will not be impelled by reverence of our persons, or fear of our authority, to admit us? Besides this, I am furnished with an undeniable excuse; I can say that I am just arrived from Persia, and have business from my father with the king. If a falsehood must be spoken,[1] let it be so.

1 This morality, says Larcher, is not very rigid; but it ought, he continues, to be remembered that Herodotus is here speaking of falsehood which operates to no one's injury. *Bryant, on the contrary,* remarks, that we may rest assured

They who are sincere, and they who are not, have the same object in view. Falsehood is prompted by views of interest, and the language of truth is dictated by some promised benefit, or the hope of inspiring confidence. So that, in fact, these are only two different paths to the same end: if no emolument were proposed, the sincere man would be false, and the false man sincere. As to the guards, he who suffers us to pass shall hereafter be remembered to his advantage; he who opposes us shall be deemed an enemy: let us therefore now hasten to the palace, and execute our purpose.'

LXXIII. When he had finished Gobryas spoke as follows: 'My friends, to recover the empire will indeed be glorious; but if we fail, it will be nobler to die than for Persians to live in subjection to a Mede, and he too deprived of his ears. You who were present at the last hours of Cambyses cannot but remember the imprecations which he uttered against the Persians if they did not attempt the recovery of the empire. We then refused him attention, thinking him influenced by

these are the author's own sentiments, though attributed to another person; hence, he adds, we must not wonder if his veracity be sometimes called in question. But when we remember that one of the first rudiments of Persian education was to speak the truth, the little scruple with which Darius here adopts a falsehood must appear very remarkable. On this subject of sincerity Lord Shaftesbury has some very curious remarks. 'The chief of ancient critics,' says he, 'extols Homer above all things for understanding how to lie in perfection. His lies, according to that master's opinion, and the judgment of the gravest and most venerable writers, were in themselves the justest moral truths, and exhibitive of the best doctrine and instruction in life and manners.' It is well remarked by one of the ancients, though I do not remember which, that a violation of truth implies a contempt of God, and fear of man. Yet the gravest of our moralists and divines have allowed that there may be occasions in which a deviation from strict truth is venial.—*T.*

alignity and resentment; but now I at least second
ie proposal of Darius, nor would I have this assembly
reak up, but to proceed instantly against the magus.'
he sentiments of Gobryas gave universal satisfaction.

LXXIV. During the interval of this consultation
ie two magi had together determined to make a friend
f Prexaspes: they were aware that he had been in-
ured by Cambyses, who had slain his son with an
rrow; and that he alone was privy to the death of
merdis, the son of Cyrus, having been his execu-
oner; they were conscious also that he was highly
steemed by the Persians. They accordingly sent for
im, and made him the most liberal promises: they
iade him swear that he would on no account disclose
ie fallacy which they practised on the Persians; and
iey promised him, in reward of his fidelity, rewards
ithout number. Prexaspes engaged to comply with
ieir wishes: they then told him of their intention to
ssemble the Persians beneath the tower which was
ie royal residence, from whence they desired him to
eclare aloud that he who then sat on the throne of
'ersia was Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and no other.
hey were induced to this measure from a considera-
on of the great authority of Prexaspes, and because
e had frequently declared that he had never put
merdis, the son of Cyrus, to death, but that he was
ill alive.

LXXV. Prexaspes agreed to comply with all that
ey proposed; the magi accordingly assembled the
ersians, and leading Prexaspes to the top of the
wer, commanded him to make an oration. He, with-
ut paying the least attention to the promises he had
ade, recited the genealogy of the family of Cyrus,
ginning with *Achæmenes*. When he came to Cyrus
mself, he enumerated the services which that prince

had rendered the Persians. He then made a fu covery of the truth, excusing himself for concea so long from the danger which the revealing it have incurred, but that it was now forced fron He assured them that he actually had killed Sn by the order of Cambyses, and that the mag exercised the sovereign authority. When he ha precated many curses[1] on the Persians, if the not attempt the recovery of their rights, and t vengeance on the usurpers, he threw himself fro

1 In ancient times, and amongst the orientals in par these kind of imprecations were very frequent, and su to have an extraordinary influence. The curse of a was believed to be particularly fatal; and the furie always thought to execute the imprecations of par disobedient children: see the stories of Œdipus and Tl When Joshua destroyed Jericho, he imprecated a curse on whoever should attempt to rebuild it. Th however at a distant period of time accomplished. W two examples of solemn imprecations on record, whic always been deemed worthy of attention. The one oc in ancient Rome; when Crassus, in defiance of the au prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians tribune Ateius waited for him at the gates of the city v altar, a fire, and a sacrifice ready prepared, and with th horrid solemnity devoted him to destruction. The otl ample is more modern, it is the imprecation which Av the famous Arabian philosopher, uttered against his s it is less generally known, I shall recite it at length: roes was one day seriously conversing with some friends, when his son, in a riotous manner intruded h accompanied by some dissolute companions. The o viewing him with great indignation, spoke two verses following effect: 'Thy own beauties could not conten thou hast stripped the wild goat of his beauties; an who are as beautiful as thyself admire thee. Thou h his wanton heart, his lecherous eyes, and his senseless but to-morrow thou shalt find thy father will have his ing horns. Cursed be all extravagances! when I was I sometimes punished my father, now I am old I cannot my son; but I beg of God to deprive him rather of lif suffer him to be disobedient.' It is related that the man died within ten months.—T.

Such was the end of Prexaspes, a man who every period of his life merited esteem.[1]

VI. The seven Persians, having determined to attack the magi, proceeded, after imploring of the gods, to execute their purpose. They first ignorant of what related to the fate of es, but they learned it as they went along. ithdrew for a while to deliberate together: o sided with Otanes thought that their enter- ould be deferred, at least during the present of affairs. The friends of Darius, on the con- ere averse to any delay, and were anxious to what they had resolved immediately. Whilst nained in this suspense they observed seven hawks,[2] which, pursuing two pair of vultures, l severely tore them. At this sight the con- s came immediately into the designs of Darius; ying on the omen of the birds, advanced boldly alace.

VII. On their arrival at the gates, it happened is had foreseen. The guards, unsuspicious of

his incident M. Larcher remarks that this last noble his life but ill corresponds with the mean and das- havior which Prexaspes had before exhibited to the r of his son.

superstition of the ancients with respect to the sight of birds, has often exercised the sagacity and acute- philosophers and scholars. Some birds furnished rom their chattering, as crows, owls, &c.; others direction in which they flew, as eagles, vultures, tc. An eagle seen to right was fortunate.—See Homer. t of an eagle was supposed to foretel to Tarquinius that he should obtain the crown; it predicted also uests of Alexander; and the loss of their dominions in the Proud, and Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse: able other examples must here occur to the most reader. A raven seen on the left hand was unfortu-

sinistra cava prædixit ab ilice cornix.—Virgil.

what was intended, and awed by their dignity[1] of rank, who, in this instance, seemed to act from a divine impulse, without any questions permitted them to enter. As soon as they came to the interior part of the palace they met with the eunuchs, who were employed as the royal messengers; these asked their business, and at the same time threatened the guards for suffering them to enter. On their opposing their farther entrance, the conspirators drew their swords, and encouraging each other, put the eunuchs to death; from hence they instantly rushed to the inner apartments.

LXXVIII. Here the two magi happened to be in consultation about what was to be done in consequence of the conduct of Prexaspes. As soon as they perceived the tumult, and heard the cries of the eunuchs, they ran towards them; and preparing in a manly manner to defend themselves, the one seized a bow and the other a lance. As the conspirators drew near to the attack, the bow became useless; but the other magus, who was armed with the lance, wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and deprived Intaphernes of one of his eyes, though the blow was not fatal. The magus who found his bow of no service retreated to an adjoining apartment, into which he was followed by Darius and Gobryas. This latter seized the magus

1 The most memorable instance in history of the effects of this kind of impression is that of the soldier sent into the prison to kill Caius Marius:—the story is related at length by Plutarch. When the man entered the prison with his sword drawn, 'Fellow,' exclaimed the stern Roman, 'darest thou kill Caius Marius?' On which the soldier dropped his sword, and rushed out of doors. This fact, however, being nowhere mentioned by Cicero, who speaks very largely on *the subject of* Marius, has given Dr. Middleton reason to *suppose that the* whole is a fabulous narration.—T.

e waist;[1] but as this happened in the dark, tood in hesitation, fearing to strike, lest he round Gobryas. When Gobryas perceived inquired why he was thus inactive: when plied, that it was from his fear of wounding d. 'Strike!' exclaimed Gobryas, 'though ld pierce both.' Darius instantly complied, is sword through the magus.

X. Having thus slain the magi,[2] they in-

nlike to this was the manner in which David Riz-vorite of the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots, was Rizzio was at supper with his mistress, attended domestics, when the king, who had chosen this opportunity to satisfy his vengeance, entered the with Ruthven and his accomplices. The wretched onceiving himself the victim whose death was re-ew for protection to the queen, whom he seized waist. This attitude did not save him from the Ruthven; and before he could be dragged to the tment the rage of his enemies put an end to his ing his body with fifty-six wounds.—See the ac-*Robertson's History of Scotland*, vol. i. 359.—*T.*

y not in this place be impertinent to give a succinct f the magi or magians, as selected from various the subject. This sect originating in the East, ng all images, worshipped God only by fire. Their ine was that there were two principles, one of which use of all good, the other the cause of all evil. The represented by light, the other by darkness, and these two all things in the world were made. The they named Yazdan or Ormund; the evil god, Ah-e former is by the Greeks named Oramasdes, the manius. Concerning these two gods, some held em to have been from eternity; others contended being only to be eternal, the other created: both this, that there will be a continual opposition be-se two till the end of the world, when the good god come the evil god; and that afterwards each shall world to himself, the good god have all good men the evil god all wicked men. Of this system Zoro-the first founder, whom Hyde and Prideaux make ary with Darius Hystaspes, but whose era, as ap-*Moyle*, the Greek writers of the age of Darius.

stantly cut off their heads. Their two friends who were wounded were left behind, as well to guard the citadel as on account of their inability to follow them. The remaining five ran out into the public street,

make many hundred years before their own time. After giving a concise but animated account of the theology of Zoroaster, Mr. Gibbon has this remark: 'Every mode of religion, to make a deep and lasting impression on the human mind, must exercise our obedience, by enjoining practices of devotion for which we can assign no reason; and must acquire our esteem by inculcating moral duties, analogous to the dictates of our own hearts.' The religion of Zoroaster was abundantly provided with the former, and possessed a sufficient portion of the latter. At the age of manhood the faithful Persian was invested with a mysterious girdle, from which moment the most indifferent action of his life was sanctified by prayers, ejaculations, and genuflexions, the omission of which was a grievous sin. The moral duties however were required of the disciple of Zoroaster, who wished to escape the persecution of Arimanius, or, as Mr. Gibbon writes it, Ahriman, and to live with Ormund or Ormusd in a blissful eternity, where the degree of felicity will be exactly proportioned to the degree of virtue and piety. In the time of Theodosius the younger the Christians enjoyed a full toleration in Persia; but Abdas indiscreetly pulling down a temple in which the Persians worshipped fire, a persecution against the Christians was excited, and prosecuted with unrelenting cruelty. The magi are still known in Persia, under the name of parsi or parses; their superstition is contained in three books, named Zend, Pazend, and Vestna, said by themselves to be composed by Zerdascht, whom they confound with the patriarch Abraham. The Oriental Christians pretend that the magi who adored Jesus Christ were disciples of Zoroaster, who predicted to them the coming of the Messiah, and the new star which appeared at his birth. On this latter subject a modern writer has ingeniously remarked that the presents which the magi made to Christ indicated their esteeming him a royal child, notwithstanding his mean situation and appearance: they gave him gold, frankincense, and myrrh, such as the queen of Sheba presented to Solomon in his glory.

It seems almost unnecessary to add, that from these magi or magians the English word *magic* is derived.—See *Prideaux, Gibbon,* Bayle, Bibliothèque Orientale, and Harmer's *Observations* on Passages of Scripture.—T.

having the heads of the magi in their hands, and making violent outcries. They called aloud to the Persians, explaining what had happened, and exposing the heads of the usurpers; at the same time, whoever of the magi appeared was instantly put to death. The Persians hearing what these seven noblemen had effected, and learning the imposture practised on them by the magi, were seized with the desire of imitating their conduct. Sallying forth with drawn swords, they killed every magus whom they met; and if night had not checked their rage not one would have escaped. The anniversary of this day the Persians celebrate with great solemnity: the festival they observe is called the magophonia, or the slaughter of the magi. On this occasion no magus is permitted to be seen in public; they are obliged to confine themselves at home.

LXXX. When the tumult had subsided, and an interval of five days was elapsed, the conspirators met to deliberate on the situation of affairs. Their sentiments, as delivered on this occasion, however they may want credit with many of the Greeks, were in fact as follows:—Otanes recommended a republican form of government: 'It does not,' said he, 'seem to me advisable that the government of Persia[1] should

1 Machiavel reasoning on the conquests of Alexander the Great, and on the unresisting submission which his successors experienced from the Persians, takes it for granted that amongst the ancient Persians there was no distinction of nobility. This however was by no means the case; and what Mr. Hume remarks of the Florentine secretary was undoubtedly true, that he was far better acquainted with Roman than with Greek authors.—See the Essay of Mr. Hume, where he asserts that 'Politics may be reduced to a science;' with his note at the end of the volume, which contains an enumeration of various Persian noblemen of different periods, as well as a *refutation of Machiavel's* absurd position above stated. —*T.*

hereafter be intrusted to any individual person, this being neither popular nor wise. We all know the extreme lengths to which the arrogance of Cambyses proceeded, and some of us have felt its influence. How can that form of government possibly be good in which an individual with impunity may indulge his passions, and which is apt to transport even the best of men beyond the bounds of reason? When a man, naturally envious, attains greatness, he instantly becomes insolent. Insolence and jealousy are the distinguishing vices of tyrants, and when combined lead to the most enormous crimes. He who is placed at the summit of power ought indeed to be a stranger to envy; but we know, by fatal experience, that the contrary happens. We know, also, that the worthiest citizens excite the jealousy of tyrants, who are pleased only with the most abandoned: they are ever prompt to listen to the voice of calumny. If we pay them temperate respect, they take umbrage that we are not more profuse in our attentions: if the respect with which they are treated seem immoderate, they call it adulation. The severest misfortune of all is, that they pervert the institutions of their country, offer violence to our females, and put those whom they dislike to death, without the formalities of justice: but a democracy, in the first place, bears the honorable name of an equality; the disorders which prevail in a monarchy cannot there take place. The magistrate is appointed by lot: he is accountable for his administration; and whatever is done must be with the general consent. I am therefore of opinion that monarchy should be abolished; and that, as every thing depends on the people,[1]

1 In this place the favorite adage of Vox populi vox Dei, *must occur to* every reader; the truth of which, as far as *power is concerned*, is certainly indisputable; but with re-

a popular government should be established.' Such were the sentiments of Otanes.

LXXXI. Megabyzus, however, was inclined to an oligarchy; in favor of which he thus expressed himself: 'All that Otanes has urged concerning the extirpation of tyranny meets with my intire approbation; but when he recommends the supreme authority to be intrusted to the people, he seems to me to err in the extreme. Tumultuous assemblies of the people are never distinguished by wisdom, always by insolence; neither can any thing be possibly more preposterous than to fly from the tyranny of an individual to the intemperate caprice of the vulgar. Whatever a tyrant undertakes has the merit of previous concert and design; but the people are always rash and ignorant. And how can they be otherwise, who are uninstructed, and with no internal sense of what is good and right? Destitute of judgment, their actions resemble the violence of a torrent.[1] To me, a demo-

spect to political sagacity, the sentiment of Horace may be more securely vindicated:

Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.

Which Pope happily renders,

The people's voice is odd;
It is, and it is not, the voice of God.—*T.*

1 On the subject of popular assemblies the following remarks of M. de Lolme seem very ingenious as well as just:

'Those who compose a popular assembly are not actuated, in the course of their deliberations, by any clear or precise view of any present or positive personal interest. As they see themselves lost as it were in the crowd of those who are called on to exercise the same functions with themselves; as they know that their individual vote will make no change in the public resolution, and that to whatever side they may incline the general result will nevertheless be the same, they do not undertake to inquire how far the things proposed to them agree with the whole of the laws already in being, or with the *present circumstances* of the state. As few among them *have previously* considered the subjects on which they

cracy seems to involve the ruin of our country: let us therefore intrust the government to a few individuals selected for their talents and their virtues. Let us constitute a part of these ourselves; and from the exercise of authority so deposited, we may be justified in expecting the happiest events.'

LXXXII. Darius was the third who delivered his opinion: 'The sentiments of Megabyzus,' he observed, 'as they relate to a popular government, are unquestionably wise and just; but from his opinion of an oligarchy I totally dissent. Supposing the three different forms of government, monarchy, democracy and an oligarchy, severally to prevail in the greatest perfection, I am of opinion that monarchy has greatly the advantage. Indeed nothing can be better than the government of an individual eminent for his virtue. He will not only have regard to the general welfare of his subjects, but his resolutions will be cautiously concealed from the public enemies of the state. In an oligarchy, the majority who have the care of the state though employed in the exercise of virtue for the public good, will be the objects of mutual envy and dislike. Every individual will be anxious to extend his own personal importance, from which will proceed faction, sedition, and bloodshed. The sovereign powe

are called on to determine, very few carry along with them any opinion or inclination of their own, and to which they are resolved to adhere. As however it is necessary at last to come to some resolution, the major part of them are determined, by reasons which they would blush to pay any regard to on much less serious occasions: an unusual sight, a change of the ordinary place of assembly, a sudden disturbance, a rumor, are, amidst the general want of a spirit of decision the *sufficiens ratio* of the determination of the greatest part and from this assemblage of separate wills, thus formed, hastily and without reflection, a general will results, which is also without reflection.'—Constitution of England, 250, 251.

oming by these means to the hands of a single per-
on, constitutes the strongest argument to prove what
orm of government is best. Whenever the people
ossess the supreme authority, disorders in the state
re unavoidable: such disorders introduced in a re-
ublic, do not separate the bad and the profligate from
ach other; they unite them in the closest bonds of
onnexion. They who mutually injure the state,
nutually support each other; this evil exists till some
ndividual, assuming authority, suppresses the sedi-
on: he of course obtains popular admiration, which
nds in his becoming the sovereign;[1] and this again
ends to prove that a monarchy is of all governments
he most excellent. To comprehend all that can be
aid at once, to what are we indebted for our liberty?
id we derive it from the people, an oligarchy, or an
ndividual? For my own part, as we were certainly
ndebted to one man for freedom, I think that to one
lone the government should be intrusted. Neither
an we without danger change the customs of our
ountry.'

LXXXIII. Such were the three different opinions
lelivered, the latter of which was approved by four
ut of the seven.[2] When Otanes saw his desire to

1 It is probable that the ascendant of one man over multi-
udes began during a state of war, where the superiority of
ourage and of genius discovers itself most visibly, where
nanimity and concert are most requisite, and where the per-
icious effects of disorder are most sensibly felt.—*Hume.*

2 This majority certainly decided in favor of that species
f government which is most simple and natural, and which
vould be, if always vested in proper hands, the best: but
he abuse of absolute power is so probable, and so destruc-
ive, that it is necessary by all means to guard against it.
Aristotle inclines to the opinions of those who esteem a
nixed government the best that can be devised. Of this they
onsidered the Lacedæmonian constitution a good specimen;
e kings connecting it with monarchy, the senate with oli-

establish an equality in Persia rejected, he spoke thus: 'As it seems determined that Persia shall be governed by one person, whether chosen among ourselves by lot, or by the suffrages of the people, or by some other method, you shall have no opposition from me: I am equally averse to govern or obey. I therefore yield, on condition that no one of you shall ever reign over me, or any of my posterity.' The rest of the conspirators assenting to this, he made no farther opposition, but retired from the assembly. At the present period this is the only family in Persia which retains its liberty, for all that is required of them is not to transgress the laws of their country.

LXXXIV. The remaining six noblemen continued to consult about the most equitable mode of electing a king; and they severally determined, that if the choice should fall on any of themselves, Otanes himself and all his posterity should be annually presented with a Median habit,[1] as well as with every other dis-

garchy, and the ephori and syssytia with democracy.—*Arist. Pol.* l. ii. cap. 4. Modern speculators on this subject with one accord allow the constitution of Great Britain, as it stands at present, to be a much more judicious and perfect mixture of the three powers, which are so contrived as to check and counterbalance each other, without impeding that action of the whole machine, which is necessary to the well-being of the people. The sixth book of Polybius opens with a dissertation on the different forms of government, which deserves attention.—*T.*

1 The custom of giving vests or robes in oriental countries, as a mark of honor or distinction, may be traced to the remotest antiquity, and still prevails. On this subject the following passage is given from a manuscript of Sir John Chardin, by Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture:

'The kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. They pay great attention to the quality or *merit of those to* whom these vestments or habits are given; *those that are given* to the great men have as much difference

tinction magnificent in itself, and deemed honorable in Persia. They decreed him this tribute of respect, as he had first agitated the matter, and called them together. These were their determinations respecting Otanes: as to themselves, they mutually agreed that access to the royal palace should be permitted to each of them, without the ceremony of a previous messenger,[1] except when the king should happen to be in bed. They also resolved that the king should marry no woman but from the family of one of the conspirators. The mode they adopted to elect a king was this:—they agreed to meet on horseback at sun-rise, in the vicinity of the city, and to make him king whose horse should neigh the first.

LXXXV. Darius had a groom, whose name was Œbares, a man of considerable ingenuity, for whom on his return home he immediately sent. 'Œbares,' said he, 'it is determined that we are to meet at sunrise on horseback, and that he among us shall be king whose horse shall first neigh. Whatever acuteness

as there is between the degrees of honor they possess in the state.'

All modern travellers to the East speak of the same custom; We find also in the Old Testament various examples of a similar kind.

This Median habit was made of silk; it was indeed, among the elder Greeks, only another name for a silken robe, as we learn from Procopius. This gift is fully explained by Xenophon in the first book of the Anabasis: it consisted of a horse with a gilt bridle, a golden collar, bracelets, and a sword of the kind peculiar to Media, called acinaces, besides the silken vest. His expressions are so similar to those of Herodotus, as to satisfy us that these specific articles properly made up the gift of honor.—*T.*

1 Visits to the great in eastern countries are always preceded by messengers, who carry presents, differing in value according to the dignity of the person who is to receive them. Without some present or other no visit must be made, nor favor expected.—*T.*

you have, exert it on this occasion, that no one but myself may attain this honor.'—'Sir,' replied Œbares, 'if your being a king or not depend on what you say, be not afraid; I have a kind of charm, which will prevent any one's being preferred to yourself.'—'Whatever,' replied Darius, 'this charm may be, it must be applied without delay, as the morning will decide the matter.' Œbares, therefore, as soon as evening came, conducted to the place before the city a mare, having previously ordered Darius' horse to be taken there.

LXXXVI. The next morning as soon as it was light the six Persians assembled, as had been agreed, on horseback. After riding up and down at the place appointed, they came at length to the spot where, the preceding evening, the mare had been brought; here the horse of Darius instantly began to neigh, which, though the sky was remarkably clear, was immediately succeeded by thunder and lightning. The heavens thus seemed to favor, and indeed to act in concert with Darius. Immediately the other noblemen dismounted, and falling at his feet, hailed him king.[1]

LXXXVII. Such, according to some, was the stratagem of Œbares; others, however, relate the matter

1 Darius was about twenty years old when Cyrus died. Cambyses reigned seven years and five months; Smerdis Magus was only seven months on the throne; thus Darius was about twenty-nine years old when he came to the crown. —*Larcher*.

This circumstance of thunder and lightning from a cloudless sky, is often mentioned by the ancients, and was considered by them as the highest omen. Horace has left an ode on it, as a circumstance which staggered his Epicurean notions, and impressed him with awe and veneration, l. i. od. 34; and the commentators give us instances enough of similar accounts. With us there is no thunder without clouds, except such as is too distant to have much effect: it may be otherwise in hot climates, where the state of the air is much more electrical.—*T.*

differently, and both accounts prevail in Persia. These last affirm, that the groom having rubbed his hand against the mare, touched the nostrils of the horse of Darius, which instantly made him neigh.

LXXXVIII. Darius the son of Hystaspes was thus proclaimed king; and, except the Arabians, all the nations of Asia who had been subdued first by Cyrus, and afterwards by Cambyses, acknowledged his authority. The Arabians were never reduced to the subjection of Persia,[1] but were in its alliance: they afforded Cambyses the means of penetrating into Egypt, without which he could never have accomplished his purpose. Darius first of all married two women of Persia, both of them daughters of Cyrus, Atossa who had first been married to Cambyses, and afterwards to the magus, and Antystone, a virgin. He

1 The independence of the Arabs has always been a theme of praise and admiration, from the remotest ages to the present. On this subject the following animated apostrophe from Mr. Gibbon includes all that need be said: 'The arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia. The present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs; the patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity; and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain their inheritance. When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front, and in the rear the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror: the secret waters of the desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, *and safely* reposes in the heart of the *burning solitude.*'

then married Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and that daughter of Otanes who had been the instrument in discovering the magus. Being firmly established on the throne, his first work was the erection of an equestrian statue, with this inscription: 'Darius, son of Hystaspes, obtained the sovereignty of Persia by the sagacity of his horse, and the ingenuity of Œbares his groom.' The name of the horse was also inserted.

LXXXIX. The next act of authority was to divide Persia into twenty provinces, which they call satrapies, to each of which a governor was appointed. He then ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes many nations together, which were near each other, under one district; and sometimes he passed over many which were adjacent; forming one government of various remote and scattered nations. His particular division of the provinces, and the mode fixed for the payment of their annual tribute, was this: they whose payment was to be made in silver, were to take the Babylonian talent[1]

1 What follows on the subject of the talent is extracted principally from Arbuthnot's tables of ancient coins.

The word *talent* in Homer is used to signify a balance; and in general it was applied either to a weight or a sum of money, differing in value according to the ages and countries in which it was used. Every talent consists of sixty minæ, and every mina of one hundred drachmæ; but the talents differed in weight according to the minæ and drachmæ of which they were composed.

What Herodotus here affirms of the Babylonian talent is confirmed by Pollux and by Ælian.

The Euboic talent was so called from the island Eubœa: it was generally thought to be the same with the Attic talent, because both these countries used the same weights; the mina Euboica, and the mina Attica, each consisted of one hundred drachmæ.

According to the above, the Babylonian talent would amount

for their standard; the Euboic talent was to regulate those who made their payment in gold; the Babylonian talent, it is to be observed, is equal to seventy Euboic minæ. During the reign of Cyrus, and indeed of Cambyses, there were no specific tributes; but presents were made to the sovereign. On account of these and similar innovations the Persians call Darius a merchant, Cambyses a despot, but Cyrus a parent. Darius seemed to have no other object in view but the acquisition of gain; Cambyses was negligent and severe; whilst Cyrus was of a mild and gentle temper, ever studious of the good of his subjects.

XC. The Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans, and Pamphylians, were comprehended under one district, and jointly paid a tribute of four hundred talents of silver: they formed the first satrapy. The second, which paid five hundred talents, was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians. A tribute of three hundred and sixty talents was paid by those who inhabit the right side of the Hellespont, by the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; and these nations constituted the third satrapy. The Cilicians were obliged to produce every day a white horse, that is to say, three hundred and sixty annually, with five hundred talents of silver; of these one hundred and forty were appointed for the payment of the cavalry who formed the guard of the country: the remaining three hundred and sixty were received by Darius: these formed the fourth satrapy.

XCI. The tribute levied from the fifth satrapy was three hundred and fifty talents. Under this district

in *English money to about 226l.*; the Euboic or Attic talent *to 193l. 15s.—T.*

was comprehended the tract of country which extended from the city Posideium, built on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria, by Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus, as far as Egypt, part of Arabia alone excluded, which paid no tribute. The same satrapy, moreover, included all Phœnicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the isle of Cyprus. Seven hundred talents were exacted from Egypt, from the Africans which border on Egypt, from Cyrene and Barce, which are comprehended in the Egyptian district. The produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris was not included in this, neither was the corn, to the amount of seven hundred talents more; one hundred and twenty thousand measures of which were applied to the maintenance of the Persians and their auxiliary troops garrisoned within the white castle of Memphis: this was the sixth satrapy. The seventh was composed of the Satgagydæ, the Gandarii, the Dadicæ and Aparytæ, who together paid one hundred and seventy talents. The eighth satrapy furnished three hundred talents, and consisted of Susa and the rest of the Cissians.

XCII. Babylon and the other parts of Assyria constituted the ninth satrapy, and paid a thousand talents of silver, with five hundred young eunuchs. The tenth satrapy furnished four hundred and fifty talents, and consisted of Ecbatana, the rest of Media, the Parycanii, and the Orthocorybantes. The Caspians, the Pausicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Daritæ, contributed amongst them two hundred talents, and formed the eleventh satrapy. The twelfth produced three hundred and sixty talents, and was composed of the whole country from the Bactrians to Æglos.

XCIII. From the thirteenth satrapy four hundred talents were levied; this comprehended Pactyica, the Armenians, with the contiguous nations, as far as the

Euxine. The fourteenth satrapy consisted of the Sangatians, the Sarangæans, the Thamanæans, Utians, and Menci, with those who inhabit the islands of the Red Sea, where the king sends those whom he banishes;[1] these jointly contributed six hundred talents. The Sacæ and Caspii formed the fifteenth satrapy, and provided two hundred and fifty talents. Three hundred talents were levied from the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians, who were the sixteenth satrapy.

XCIV. The Paricanii and Ethiopians of Asia paid four hundred talents, and formed the seventeenth satrapy. The eighteenth was taxed at two hundred talents, and was composed of the Matieni, the Sas-

1 Banishment seems to have been adopted as a punishment at a very early period of the world; and it may be supposed that in the infancy of society men, reluctant to sanguinary measures, would have recourse to the expulsion of mischievous or unworthy members, as the simpler and less odious remedy. When we consider the effect which exile has had on the minds of the greatest and wisest of mankind, and reflect on that attractive sweetness of the natal soil, which whilst we admire in poetic description we still feel to be *ratione valentior omni*, it seems wonderful that banishment should not more frequently supersede the necessity of sanguinary punishments. That Ovid, whose mind was enervated by licentious habits, should deplore, in strains the most melancholy, the absence of what alone could make life supportable, may not perhaps be thought wonderful; but that Cicero, whose whole life was a life of philosophic discipline, should so intirely lose his firmness, and forget his dignity, may justify our concluding of the punishment of exile, that human vengeance need not inflict a more severe calamity. In opposition to what I have asserted above some reader will perhaps be inclined to cite the example of Lord Bolingbroke, his conduct, and his reflections on exile; but I think I can discern through that labored apology a secret chagrin and uneasiness, which convinces me at least, that whilst he acted the philosopher and the stoic, he had the common feelings and infirmities of man.—*T.*

pires, and Alarodians. The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynœci, and Mardians, provided three hundred talents, and were the nineteenth satrapy. The Indians, the most numerous nation of whom we have any knowlege, were proportionally taxed; they formed the twentieth satrapy, and furnished six hundred talents in golden ingots.

XCV. If the Babylonian money be reduced to the standard of the Euboic talent, the aggregate sum will be found to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty talents in silver; and estimating the gold at thirteen times[1] the value of silver, there will be found, according to the Euboic talent, four thousand six hundred and eighty of these talents. The whole being estimated together, it will appear that the annual tribute paid to Darius was fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents, omitting many trifling sums not deserving our attention.

XCVI. Such was the sum which Asia principally, and Africa in some small proportion, paid to Darius. In process of time the islands also were taxed, as was that part of Europe which extends to Thessaly. The manner in which the king deposited these riches in his treasury was this:—the gold and silver was melted and poured into earthen vessels; the vessel, when

1 The proportion of gold to silver varied at different times, according to the abundance of these two metals. In the time of Darius it was thirteen to one; in the time of Plato twelve, and in the time of Meander, the comic poet, it was ten.—*Larcher.*

In the time of Julius Cæsar the proportion of gold to silver at Rome was no more than nine to one. This arose from the prodigious quantity of gold which Cæsar had obtained from the plunder of cities and temples. It is generally supposed amongst the learned that in the gold coin of the ancients one *fiftieth* part was alloy.—*T.*

full, was removed, leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, such a piece was broken off as the contingence required.

XCVII. We have thus described the different satrapies, and the impost on each. Persia is the only province which I have not mentioned as tributary. The Persians are not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but they present a regular gratuity. The Ethiopians who border on Egypt, subdued by Cambyses in his expedition against the Ethiopian Macrobians, are similarly circumstanced, as are also the inhabitants of the sacred town of Nyssa, who have festivals in honor of Bacchus. These Ethiopians, with their neighbors, resemble in their customs the Calantian Indians: they have the same rites of sepulture, and their dwellings are subterraneous. Once in every three years these two nations present to the king two chœnices of gold unrefined, two hundred blocks of ebony, twelve large elephants' teeth, and five Ethiopian youths, which custom has been continued to my time. The people of Colchos[1] and their neighbors, as far as Mount Caucasus, imposed on themselves the payment of a gratuity. To this latter place the Persian authority extends; northward of this their name inspires no regard. Every five years the nations above-mentioned present

1 It was the boast of the Colchians that their ancestors had checked the victories of Sesostris; but they sunk without any memorable effort under the arms of Cyrus, followed in distant wars the standard of the great king, and presented him every fifth year with a hundred boys and as many virgins, the fairest produce of the land. Yet he accepted this *gift* like the gold and ebony of India, the frankincense of the Arabs, and the negroes and ivory of Ethiopia: the Colchians were not subject to the dominion of a satrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as substance of national independence.—*Gibbon.*

the king with a hundred youths and a hundred virgins,[1] which also has been continued within my remembrance. The Arabians contribute every year frankincense to the amount of a thousand talents. Independent of the tributes before specified, these were the presents which the king received.

XCVIII. The Indians procure the great number of golden ingots, which, as I have observed, they present as a donative to the king, in this manner:—that part of India which lies towards the east is very sandy; and indeed, of all nations concerning whom we have any authentic accounts, the Indians are the people of Asia who are nearest the east, and the place of the rising sun. The part most eastward is a perfect desert, from the sand. Under the name of Indians many nations are comprehended, using different languages; of these some attend principally to the care of cattle, others not: some inhabit the marshes, and live on raw fish, which they catch in boats made of reeds, divided at the joint, and every joint makes one canoe. These Indians have cloth made of rushes,[2]

1 The native race of Persians is small and ugly, but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood. This remark Mr. Gibbon applies to the Persian women in the time of Julian. Amongst modern travellers the beauties of the Persian ladies is a constant theme of praise and admiration.—*T.*

2 To trace the modern dress back to the simplicity of the first skins, and leaves, and feathers, that were worn by mankind in the primitive ages, if it were possible, would be almost endless; the fashion has often been changed, while the materials remained the same: the materials have been different as they were gradually produced by successive arts that converted a raw hide into leather, the wool of the sheep into cloth, the web of the worm into silk, and flax and cotton into linen of various kinds. One garment also has been added to another, and ornaments have been multiplied on ornaments,

which having mowed and cut, they weave together like a mat, and wear in the manner of a cuirass.

XCIX. To the east of these are other Indians, called Padæi, who lead a pastoral life, live on raw flesh,[1] and are said to observe these customs :—if any man among them be diseased, his nearest connexions put him to death, alleging in excuse that sickness would waste and injure his flesh. They pay no regard to his assertions that he is not really ill, but without the smallest compunction deprive him of life. If a woman be ill, her female connexions treat her in the same manner. The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten; but there are very few who arrive at old age, for in case of sickness they put every one to death.

with a variety almost infinite, produced by the caprice of human vanity, or the new necessities to which man rendered himself subject by those many inventions which took place after he ceased to be as God had created him, upright.—See historical remarks on dress, prefixed to a collection of the dresses of different nations, ancient and modern.

The canoes and dresses here described will strike the reader as much resembling those seen and described by modern voyagers to the South Seas.

1 Not at all more incredible is the custom said to be prevalent among the Abyssinians, of eating a slice of meat raw from the living ox, and esteeming it one of the greatest delicacies. The assertion of this fact by Mr. Bruce, the celebrated traveller, has excited a clamor against him, and by calling his veracity in question, has probably operated amongst other causes, to the delay of a publication much and eagerly expected. This very fact, however, is also asserted of the Abyssinians by Lobo and Poncet. If it be allowed without reserve, an argument is deducible from it, to prove that bullock's blood, in contradiction to what is asserted by our historian, in ch. xv. of this book, is not a poison; unless we suppose that the quantity thus taken into the stomach would be too small to produce the effect. Lobo, as well as Mr. Bruce, affirms that the *Abyssinians* eat beef, not only in a raw state, *but reeking from the ox.—T.*

C. There are other Indians, who, differing in manners from the above, put no animal to death, sow no grain, have no fixed habitations, and live solely on vegetables. They have a particular grain, nearly of the size of millet, which the soil spontaneously produces, which is protected by a calyx; the whole of this they bake and eat. If any of these Indians be taken sick, they retire to some solitude, and there remain, no one expressing the least concern about them during their illness, or after their death.

CI. Among all these Indians whom I have specified the communication is open and unrestrained. They are all of the same complexion, and much resembling the Ethiopians. These Indians are very remote from Persia towards the south, and were never in subjection to Darius.

CII. There are still other Indians towards the north, who dwell near the city of Caspatyrum, and the country of Pactyica. Of all the Indians these in their manners most resemble Bactrians; they are distinguished above the rest by their bravery, and are those who are employed in searching for the gold. In the vicinity of this district there are vast deserts of sand, in which a species of ants[1] is produced, not so large as a dog,

1 Of these ants Pliny also makes mention, in the following terms:

'In the temple of Hercules, at Erythræ, the horns of an Indian ant were to be seen, an astonishing object. In the country of the northern Indians, named Dandæ, these ants cast up gold from holes within the earth. In color they resemble cats, and are as large as the wolves of Egypt. This gold, which they throw up in the winter, the Indians contrive to steal in the summer, when the ants, on account of the heat, hide themselves under ground. But if they happen to smell them, the ants rush from their holes and will often tear them in pieces, though mounted on their swiftest camels, such is *the swiftness* and fierceness they display from the love of *their gold.'*

but bigger than a fox. Some of these, taken by hunting, are preserved in the palace of the Persian monarch. Like the ants common in Greece, which in form also they nearly resemble, they make themselves habitations in the ground, by digging under the sand. The sand thus thrown up is mixed with gold-dust, to collect which the Indians are despatched into the deserts. To this expedition they proceed, each with three camels fastened together, a female being secured between two males, and on her the Indian is mounted, taking particular care to have one which has recently foaled. The females of this description are in all respects as swift as horses, and capable of bearing much greater burdens.[1]

On the above Larcher has this remark: the little communication which the Greeks had with the Indians prevented their investigating the truth with respect to this animal; and their love of the marvellous inclined them to assent to this description of Herodotus. Demetrius Triclinius says, on the Antigone of Sophocles, doubtless from some ancient scholiast which he copies, that there are in India winged animals, named ants, which dig up gold. Herodotus and Pliny say nothing of their having wings. Most of our readers will be induced to consider the description of these ants as fabulous; nevertheless De Thou, an author of great credit, tells us that Shah Thomas, sophi of Persia, sent, in the year 1559, to Soliman an ant like these here described.

They who had seen the vast nests of the termites, or white ants, might easily be persuaded that the animals which formed them were as large as foxes. The disproportion between the insect, though large, and its habitation, is very extraordinary.—*T.*

1 Of all the descriptions I have met with of this wonderful animal, the following from Volney seems the most animated and interesting:—

'No creature seems so peculiarly fitted to the climate in which it exists as the camel. Designing the camel to dwell in a country where he can find little nourishment, Nature has been sparing of her materials in the whole of his formation. She has not bestowed on him the fleshiness of the ox, horse, or elephant; but limiting herself to what is strictly necessary,

CIII. As my countrymen of Greece are well ac quainted with the form of the camel, I shall not her describe it; I shall only mention that with which conceive them to be less acquainted.[1] Behind, th camel has four thighs and as many knee joints.

she has given him a small head without ears, at the end of long neck without flesh. She has taken from his legs an thighs every muscle not immediately requisite for motion and in short has bestowed on his withered body only th vessels and tendons necessary to connect its frame togethe She has furnished him with a strong jaw that he may grin the hardest aliments; but lest he should consume too much she has straitened his stomach, and obliged him to chew th cud. She has lined his foot with a lump of flesh, which sliding in the mud, and being no way adapted to climbing fits him only for a dry, level, and sandy soil, like that o Arabia: she has evidently destined him likewise for slavery by refusing him every sort of defence against his enemies So great, in short, is the importance of the camel to the de sert, that were it deprived of that useful animal, it must in fallibly lose every inhabitant.'—*Volney*.

With respect to the burdens which camels are capable c carrying, Russel tells us that the Arab camel will carry on hundred rotoloes, or five hundred pounds weight; but th Turcomans' camel's common load is one hundred and sixt rotoloes, or eight hundred pounds weight. Their ordinar pace is very slow, Volney says not more than thirty-six hun dred yards in an hour: it is needless to press them; they wi go no quicker. Raynal says that the Arabs qualify the camel for expedition by matches, in which the horse runs agains him; the camel, less active and nimble, tires out his rival i a long course. There is one peculiarity with respect t camels, which not being generally known, I give the reade as translated from the Latin of Father Strope, a learned Ge man missionary. 'The camels which have the honor to bes presents to Mecca and Medina are not to be treated afterward as common animals; they are considered as consecrated t Mahomet, which exempts them from all labor and servic They have cottages built for their abodes, where they live a ease, and receive plenty of food, with the most careful at tention.

1 These farther particulars concerning the camel are take *from Mr. Pennant.*

The one-bunched camel is the Arabian camel, the tw

CIV. Having thus connected their camels, the Indians proceed in search of the gold, choosing the hottest time of the day as most proper for their purpose, for then it is that the ants conceal themselves under the ground. In distinction from all other nations, the heat with these people is greatest, not at mid-day, but in the morning. They have a vertical sun till about the time when with us people withdraw from the forum; during which period the warmth is more excessive than the mid-day sun in Greece, so that the inhabitants are then said to go into the water for refreshment. Their mid-day is nearly of the same temperature as in other places; after which the warmth of the air becomes like the morning elsewhere; it then progressively grows milder, till at the setting sun it becomes very cool.

CV. As soon as they arrive at the spot, the Indians precipitately fill their bags with sand, and return as expeditiously as possible. The Persians say that these ants know and pursue the Indians by their smell, with inconceivable swiftness. They affirm, that if the Indians did not make considerable progress whilst the ants were collecting themselves together, it would be impossible for any of them to escape. For this reason, at different intervals, they separate one of the male camels from the female, which are always fleeter than the males, and are at this time additionally in-

bunched, the Bactrian. The Arabian has six callosities on the legs; will kneel down to be loaded; but rises the moment he finds the burden equal to his strength. They are gentle always, except when in heat, when they are seized with a sort of madness, which makes it unsafe to approach them. The Bactrian camel is larger and more generous than the domesticated race. The Chinese have a swift variety of this, which they call by the expressive name of Fong Kyo Yo, or *camels with feet of the wind.*

cited by the remembrance of their young whom they had left. Thus, according to the Persians, the Indians obtain their greatest quantity of gold; what they procure by digging is of much inferior importance.

CVI. Thus it appears that the extreme parts of the habitable world are distinguished by the possession of many beautiful things, as Greece is for its agreeable and temperate seasons. India, as I have already remarked, is the last inhabited country towards the east, where every species of birds and of quadrupeds, horses excepted,[1] are much larger than in any other part of the

1 Every thing of moment which is involved in the natural history of the horse may be found in M. Buffon. But, as Mr. Pennant observes, we may in this country boast a variety which no other single kingdom possesses. Most other countries produce but one kind, while ours, by a judicious mixture of the several species, by the happy difference of our soil, and by our superior skill in management, may triumph over the rest of Europe in having brought each quality of this noble animal to the highest perfection. The same author tells us that the horse is in some places found wild; that these are less than the domestic kinds, of a mouse color, have greater heads than the tame, their foreheads remarkably arched, go in great herds, will often surround the horses of the Mongals and Kalkas while they are grazing, and carry them away. These are excessively vigilant; a sentinel placed on an eminence gives notice to the herd of any approaching danger, by neighing aloud, when they all run off with amazing swiftness. These are sometimes taken by the means of hawks, which fix on their heads, and distress them so as to give the pursuers time to overtake them. In the interior parts of Ceylon is a small variety of the horse, not exceeding thirty inches in height, which is sometimes brought to Europe as a rarity. It may not, in this place, be impertinent to inform the reader, that in the East the riding on a horse is deemed very honorable, and that Europeans are very seldom permitted to do it. In the book of Ecclesiastes, chap. x. ver. 7. we meet with this expression, 'I have seen servants on horses,' which we may of course understand to *be spoken of* as a thing very unusual and improper.

To conclude this subject, I have only to observe that the *Arabian horses* are justly allowed to be the finest in th

world. Their horses are not so large as the Nisæan horses of Media. They have also a great abundance of gold, which they procure partly by digging, partly from the rivers, but principally by the method above described. They possess likewise a kind of plant, which instead of fruit, produces wool[1] of a finer and better quality than that of sheep: of this the natives make their clothes.

CVII. The last inhabited country towards the south is Arabia; the only region of the earth which produces frankincense,[2] myrrh, cinnamon,[3] cassia,[4] and leda-

world in point of beauty and of swiftness, and are sent into all parts to improve the breed of this animal.—*T.*

1 This was doubtless the cotton-shrub, called by the ancients byssus. This plant grows to the height of about four feet: it has a yellow flower streaked with red, not unlike that of the mallow; the pistil becomes a pod of the size of a small egg; in this are from three to four cells, each of which, on bursting, is found to contain seeds involved in a whitish substance, which is the cotton. The time of gathering the cotton is when the fruit bursts, which happens in the months of March and April. The scientific name of this plant is gossypium.—*T.*

2 This of all perfumes was the most esteemed by the ancients; it was used in divine worship, and was in a manner appropriated to princes and great men. Those employed in preparing it were naked; they had only a girdle about their loins.—*T.*

3 Cinnamon is a species of laurel, the bark of which constitutes its valuable part. This is taken off in the months of September and February. When cut into small slices, it is exposed to the sun, the heat of which curls it up in the form in which we receive and use it. The berry when boiled in water yields, according to Raynal, an oil, which, suffered to congeal, acquires a whiteness. Of this candles are made, of a very aromatic smell, which are reserved for the sole use of the king of Ceylon, in which place it is principally found. —*T.*

4 This is I believe a bastard kind of cinnamon, called in Europe cassia lignea; the merchants mix it with true cinnamon, *which is four times its* value; it is to be distinguished *by a kind of viscidity* perceived in chewing it.—T.

num.[1] Except the myrrh, the Arabians obtain all these aromatics without any considerable trouble. To collect the frankincense, they burn under the tree which produces it a quantity of the styrax,[2] which the Phœnicians export into Greece; for these trees are each of them guarded by a prodigious number of flying serpents, small of body, and of different colors, which are dispersed by the smoke of the gum. It is this species of serpent which, in an immense body, infests Egypt.

CVIII. The Arabians, moreover, affirm that their whole country would be filled with these serpents, if the same thing were not to happen with respect to them which we know happens, and, as it should seem, providentially, to the vipers. Those animals, which are more timid, and which serve for the purpose of food, to prevent their total consumption, are always remarkably prolific, which is not the case with those which are fierce and venomous. The hare, for instance, the prey of every beast and bird, as well as of man, produces young abundantly. It is the singular property of this animal to carry at the same time young ones covered with down, others not yet formed, others just beginning to be formed. But the lioness, of all animals the strongest and most ferocious, produces but one young one[3] in her life.

1 Ledanum, or ladanum, according to Pliny, was a gum made of the dew which was gathered from a shrub called lada.—*T.*

2 This is the gum of the storax tree, is very aromatic, and brought to this country in considerable quantities from the Archipelago. It is obtained by making incisions in the tree. The Turks adulterate it with saw-dust. Another species of storax is imported to Europe from America, and is procured from the liquid amber-tree.—T.

3 This assertion is perfectly absurd and false. The lioness

CIX. Thus, therefore, if vipers and those winged serpents of Arabia were to increase in the ordinary course of nature, the natives could not live. Those serpents which are not injurious to mankind lay eggs, and produce a great quantity of young. There are vipers in every part of the world, but winged serpents are found only in Arabia, where there are great numbers.

CX. We have described how the Arabians procure their frankincense; their mode of obtaining the cassia is this:—the whole of their body, and the face, except the eyes, they cover with skins of different kinds; they thus proceed to the place where it grows, which is in a marsh, not very deep, but infested by a winged species of animal much resembling a bat, very strong, and making a hideous noise; they protect their eyes from these, and then gather the cassia.

CXI. Their manner of collecting the cinnamon[1] is still more extraordinary. In what particular spot it is produced they themselves are unable to certify. There are some who assert that it grows in the region where Bacchus was educated; and their mode of reasoning is by no means improbable. These affirm that the vegetable substance which we, as instructed by the Phœnicians, call cinnamon, is by certain large

has from two to six young ones, and the same lioness has been known to litter four or five times.—*T.*

1 The substance of Larcher's very long and learned note on this subject may, if I mistake not, be comprised in very few words; by cinnamomum the ancients understood a branch of that tree, bark and all, of which the cassia was the bark only. The cutting of these branches is now prohibited, because found destructive of the tree. I have before observed that of cinnamon there are different kinds; the cassia of Herodotus was, doubtless, what we in general understand to be cinnamon, of *which our cassia*, or cassia lignea, is an inferior *kind.—T.*

birds carried to their nests constructed of clay, and placed in the cavities of inaccessible rocks. To procure it thence the Arabians have contrived this stratagem:—they cut in very large pieces the dead bodies of oxen, asses, or other beasts of burden, and carry them near these nests; they then retire to some distance; the birds soon fly to the spot, and carry these pieces of flesh to their nests, which not being able to support the weight, fall in pieces to the ground. The Arabians take this opportunity of gathering the cinnamon, which they afterwards dispose of to different countries.

CXII. The ledanum,[1] or, as the natives term it, ladanum, is gathered in a more remarkable manner than even the cinnamon. In itself it is particularly fragrant, though gathered from a place as much the contrary. It is found sticking to the beards of he-goats, like the mucus of trees. It is mixed by the Arabians in various aromatics, and indeed it is with this that they perfume themselves in common.

CXIII. I have thought it proper to be thus minute on the subject of the Arabian perfumes; and we may add, that the whole of Arabia exhales a most delicious fragrance. There are also in this country two species

1 The following further particulars concerning this aromatic are taken from Tournefort.

It is gathered by the means of whips, which have long handles, and two rows of straps; with these they brush the plants, and to these will stick the odoriferous glue which hangs on the leaves: when the whips are sufficiently laden with this glue, they take a knife and scrape it clean off the straps.

In the time of Dioscorides, and before, they used to gather the ledanum not only with whips, but they also were careful in combing off such of it as was found sticking to the beards and thighs of the goats, which fed on nothing but the leaves of the *cistus*. They still observe the same process.

The ledanum is a species of cistus.

of sheep, well deserving admiration, and to be found nowhere else. One of them is remarkable for an enormous length of tail,[1] extending to three cubits, if not more. If they were permitted to trail them along the ground they would certainly ulcerate from the friction: but the shepherds of the country are skilful enough to make little carriages, on which they secure the tails of the sheep: the tails of the other species are of the size of one cubit.

CXIV. Ethiopia, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to this country on the south-west. This produces gold in great quantities, elephants with their prodigious teeth, trees and shrubs of every kind, as well as ebony; its inhabitants are also remarkable for their size, their beauty, and their length of life.

CXV. The above are the two extremes of Asia and Africa. Of that part of Europe nearest to the west I am not able to speak with decision. I by no means believe that the barbarians give the name of Eridanus[2]

1 The following description of the broad-tailed sheep, from Pennant, takes away from the seeming improbability of this account.

'This species,' says Mr. Pennant, 'is common in Syria, Barbary, and Ethiopia. Some of their tails end in a point, but are oftener square or round. They are so long as to trail on the ground, and the shepherds are obliged to put boards with small wheels under the tails to keep them from galling. These tails are esteemed a great delicacy, are of a substance between fat and marrow, and are eaten with the lean of the mutton. Some of these tails weigh fifty pounds each.'

2 Bellanger was of opinion that Herodotus intended here to speak of the Eridanus, a river in Italy; Pliny thought so too, and expresses his surprise that Herodotus should be unable to meet with a person who had seen this river, although part of his life was spent at Thuria in Magna Græcia.

But this very *reflection* ought to have convinced both

to a river which empties itself into the Northern Sea; whence, as it is said, our amber comes. Neither am I better acquainted with the islands called the Cassiterides, from which we are said to have our tin. The name Eridanus is certainly not barbarous; it is of Greek derivation, and, as I should conceive, introduced by one of our poets. I have endeavored, but without success, to meet with some one who, from ocular observation, might describe to me the sea which lies in that part of Europe. It is nevertheless certain that both our tin and our amber[1] are brought from those extreme regions.

CXVI. It is certain, that in the north of Europe there is a prodigious quantity of gold; but how it is produced I am not able to tell with certainty. It is affirmed, indeed, that the Arimaspi, a people who have but one eye, take this gold away violently from the griffins; but I can never persuade myself that there are any men who, having but one eye, enjoy in all other respects the nature and qualities of other human beings. Thus much seems unquestionable, that

Pliny and Bellanger that Herodotus had another Eridanus in view.

The Eridanus here alluded to could not possibly be any other than the Rho-daune, which empties itself into the Vistula, near Dantzic, and on the banks of which amber is now found in large quantities.—*Larcher*.

1 Amber takes its name from *ambra*, the Arabian name for this substance; the science of electricity is so called from *electrum*, the Greek word for amber. This term of electricity is now applied not only to the power of attracting lighter bodies, which amber possesses, but to many other powers of a similar nature. Amber is certainly not of the use, and consequently not of the value which it has been, but it is still given in medicine, and is, as I am informed, the basis of all varnishes. It is found in various places, but Prussia is said to produce the most and the best.—*T*.

these extreme parts of the world contain within themselves things the most beautiful as well as rare.

CXVII. There is in Asia a large plain, surrounded on every part by a ridge of hills, through which there are five different apertures. It formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, who inhabit those hills in common with the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangensians, and Thomaneans; but after the subjection of these nations to Persia it became the property of the great king. From these surrounding hills there issues a large river called Aces; this formerly, being conducted through the openings of the mountain, watered the several countries above mentioned: but when these regions came under the power of the Persians, the apertures were closed, and gates placed at each of them, to prevent the passage of the river. Thus on the inner side, from the waters having no issue, this plain became a sea; and the neighboring nations, deprived of their accustomed resource, were reduced to the extremest distress from the want of water. In winter they, in common with other nations, had the benefit of the rains; but in summer, after sowing their millet and sesamum, they required water, but in vain. Not being assisted in their distress, the inhabitants of both sexes hastened to Persia, and presenting themselves before the palace of the king, made loud complaints. In consequence of this, the monarch directed the gates to be opened towards those parts where water was most immediately wanted; ordering them again to be closed after the lands had been sufficiently refreshed: the same was done with respect to them all, beginning where moisture was wanted the most. I have however been informed that this is only granted in consideration of a large donative above the usual tribute.

CXVIII. Intaphernes, one of the seven who had

conspired against the magus, lost his life from the following act of insolence:—soon after the death of the usurpers he went to the palace, with the view of having a conference with the king; for the conspirators had mutually agreed that, except the king should happen to be in bed, they might any of them have access to the royal presence without sending a previous messenger. Intaphernes, not thinking any introduction necessary, was about to enter, but the porter and the introducing officer prevented him, pretending that the king was retired. He, not believing their assertion, drew his sword, and cut off their ears and noses; then taking the bridle from his horse, he tied them together, and so dismissed them.

CXIX. In this condition they presented themselves before the king, telling him why they had been thus treated. Darius, thinking that this might have been done with the consent of the other conspirators, sent for them separately, and desired to know whether they approved of what had happened. As soon as he was convinced that Intaphernes had perpetrated this without any communication with the rest, he ordered him, his son, and all his family, to be taken into custody; having many reasons to suspect that in concert with his friends he might excite a sedition: he afterwards commanded them all to be bound, and prepared for execution. The wife of Intaphernes then presented herself before the royal palace, exhibiting every demonstration of grief. As she regularly continued this conduct, her frequent appearance at length excited the compassion of Darius, who thus addressed her by a messenger: 'Woman! King Darius offers you the liberty of any individual of your family whom *you may most* desire to preserve.' After some deliberation *with* herself, she made this reply: 'If the

king will grant me the life of any one of my family, I choose my brother in preference to the rest.' Her determination greatly astonished the king; he sent to her therefore a second message to this effect: 'The king desires to know why you have thought proper to pass over your children and your husband, and to preserve your brother, who is certainly a more remote connexion than your children, and cannot be so dear to you as your husband?' She answered thus: 'O king! if it please the deity, I may have another husband; and if I be deprived of these, may have other children; but as my parents are both of them dead, it is certain that I can have no other brother.'[1] The

1 This very singular, and I do not scruple to add preposterous sentiment, is imitated very minutely by Sophocles, in the Antigone. That the reader may the better understand, by comparing the different application of these words, in the historian and the poet, I shall subjoin a part of the argument of the Antigone.

Eteocles and Polynices were the sons of Œdipus, and successors of his power: they had agreed to reign year by year alternately; but Eteocles breaking the contract, the brothers determined to decide the dispute in a single combat; they fought, and mutually slew each other. The first act of their uncle Creon, who succeeded to the throne, was to forbid the rites of sepulture to Polynices, denouncing immediate death on whoever should dare to bury him. Antigone transgressed this ordinance, and was detected in the fact of burying her brother; she was commanded to be interred alive, and what follows is part of what is suggested by her situation and danger:

And thus, my Polynices, for my care
Of thee, am I rewarded, and the good
Alone shall praise me: for a husband dead,
Nor, had I been a mother, for my children
Would I have dared to violate the laws.—
Another husband and another child
Might soothe affliction; but, my parents dead,
A brother's loss could never be repair'd.

Franklin's Sophocles.

The reader will not forget to observe that the piety of Antigone is directed to a lifeless corpse, but that of the wife of

answer appeared to Darius very judicious: indeed he was so well pleased with it, that he not only gave the woman the life of her brother, but also pardoned her eldest son: the rest were all of them put to death. Thus, at no great interval of time, perished one of the seven conspirators.

CXX. About the time of the last illness of Cambyses, the following accident happened. The governor of Sardis was a Persian, named Orœtes, who had been promoted by Cyrus. This man conceived the atrocious design of accomplishing the death of Polycrates of Samos, by whom he had never in word or deed been injured, and whose person he never had beheld. His assigned motive was commonly reported to be this:—Orœtes one day sitting at the gates of the palace with another Persian, whose name was Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, entered into a conversation with him, which at length terminated in dispute. The subject about which they contended was military virtue: 'Can you,' said Mitrobates to Orœtes, 'have any pretensions to valor, who have never added Samos to the dominions of your master, contiguous as it is to your province, and which indeed may so easily be taken, that one of its own citizens made himself master of it, with the help of fifteen men in arms, and still retains the supreme authority?' This made a deep impression on the mind of Orœtes; but without medi-

Intaphernes to her living brother, which is surely less repugnant to reason and the common feelings of the human heart, not to speak of the superior claims of duty.

There is an incident similar to this in Lucian.—See the tract called Toxaris, or Amicitia, where a Scythian is described to neglect his wife and children, whilst he incurs the greatest danger to preserve his friend from the flames. 'Other children,' says he, 'I may easily have, and they are at best *but a precarious* blessing, but such a friend I could nowhere *obtain.'—T.*

tating revenge against the person who had affronted him, he determined to effect the death of Polycrates, on whose account he had been reproached.

CXXI. There are some, but not many, who affirm that Orœtes sent a messenger to Samos to propose some question to Polycrates, but of what nature is unknown; and that he found Polycrates in the men's apartment, reclining on a couch, with Anacreon of Teos[1] by his side. The man advanced to deliver his message; but Polycrates, either by accident or to demonstrate the contempt[2] in which he held Orœtes, continued all the time he was speaking with his face towards the wall, and did not vouchsafe any reply.

CXXII. These are the two assigned motives for the destruction of Polycrates: every one will prefer that which seems most probable. Orœtes, who lived at

1 It is by no means astonishing to find in the court of a tyrant a poet who is eternally singing in praise of wine and love; his verses are full of the encomiums of Polycrates. How different was the conduct of Pythagoras! That philosopher, perceiving that tyranny was established in Samos, went to Egypt, and from thence to Babylon, for the sake of improvement: returning to his country, he found that tyranny still subsisted; he went therefore to Italy, and there finished his days.—*Larcher*.

This poet was not only beloved by Polycrates, he was the favorite also of Hipparchus the Athenian tyrant. By the way, much as has been said on the compositions of Anacreon by H. Stevens, Scaliger, M. Dacier, and others, many of the learned are in doubt whether the works ascribed to him by the moderns are genuine. Anacreontic verse is so called, from its being much used by Anacreon: it consists of three Iambic feet and a half, of which there is no instance in the Lyrics of Horace.—See the Prolegomena to *Barnes' Anacreon*, § 12.

2 This behavior of Polycrates, which was doubtless intended to be expressive of contempt, brings to mind the story of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, who at an interview with the Grand Vizier, expressed his contempt and indignation by tearing *the minister's* robe with his spur, and afterwards *leaving the apartment* without saying a word.

Magnesia, which is on the banks of the Mæander, sent Myrsus the Lydian, son of Gyges, with a message to Polycrates at Samos. With the character of Polycrates Orœtes was well acquainted; for, except Minos the Cnossian, or whoever before him accomplished it, he was the first Greek who formed the design of making himself master of the sea. But as far as historical tradition may be depended on, Polycrates is the only individual who projected the subjection of Ionia and the islands. Perfectly aware of these circumstances, Orœtes sent this message:

'OROETES TO POLYCRATES.

'I understand that you are revolving some vast project in your mind, but have not money responsible to your views. Be advised by me, and you will at the same time promote your own advantage and preserve me. I am informed, and I believe it to be true, that King Cambyses has determined on my death. Receive, therefore, me with my wealth; part of which shall be at your disposal, part at mine: with the assistance of this you may easily obtain the sovereignty of Greece. If you have any suspicions, send to me some one who is in your intimate confidence, and he shall be convinced by demonstration.'

CXXIII. With these overtures Polycrates was so exceedingly delighted that he was eager to comply with them immediately; for his love of money was excessive. He sent first of all, to examine into the truth of the affair, Mæandrius, his secretary, called so after his father. This Mæandrius, not long afterwards, placed as a sacred donative in the temple of Juno the rich furniture of the apartment of Poly-

crates. Orœtes, knowing the motive for which this man came, contrived and executed the following artifice :—he filled eight chests nearly to the top with stones; then covering over the surface with gold, they were tied together,[1] as if ready to be removed. Mæandrius on his arrival saw the above chests, and returned to make his report to Polycrates.

CXXIV. Polycrates, notwithstanding the predictions of the soothsayers, and the remonstrances of his friends, was preparing to meet Orœtes, when his daughter in a dream saw this vision :—she beheld her father aloft in the air, washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun. Terrified by this incident, she used every means in her power to prevent his going to meet Orœtes; and as he was about to embark for this purpose, on board a fifty-oared galley, she persisted in auguring unfavorably of his expedition. At this he was so incensed as to declare, that if he returned safe she should remain long unmarried. To this she expressed herself very desirous to submit; being willing to continue long a virgin[2] rather than be deprived of her father.

1 Before the use of locks it was the custom in more ancient times to secure things with knots: of these some were so difficult, that he alone who possessed the secret was able to unravel them. The famous Gordian knot must be known to every one; this usage is often also alluded to by Homer:

> Then bending with full force, around he roll'd
> A labyrinth of bands in fold on fold,
> Closed with Circæan art.

According to Eustathius, keys were a more modern invention, for which the Lacedæmonians are to be thanked.

On the above passage from Eustathius Larcher remarks that it is somewhat singular that the Lacedæmonians, whose property was in common, should be the inventors of keys.

The version of Pope which I have given in the foregoing lines *is very defective*, and certainly inadequate to the ex*pression of the original.—T.*

2 *To die a virgin*, and without having any children, was

CXXV. Polycrates, disregarding all that had been said to him, set sail to meet Orœtes. He was accompanied by many of his friends; and amongst the rest by Democedes, the son of Calliphon: he was a physician of Crotona, and the most skilful practitioner of his time. As soon as Polycrates arrived at Magnesia, he was put to a miserable death, unworthy of his rank and superior endowments. Of all the princes who ever reigned in Greece, those of Syracuse alone excepted, none equalled Polycrates in magnificence. Orœtes having basely put him to death, fixed his body to a cross; his attendants he sent back to Samos, telling them, 'they ought to be thankful that he had not made them slaves.' The strangers, and the servants of those who had accompanied Polycrates, he detained in servitude. The circumstance of his being suspended on a cross fulfilled the vision of the daughter of Polycrates: for he was washed by Jupiter, that is to say, by the rain; and he was anointed by the sun, for it extracted the moisture from his body. The great prosperity of Polycrates terminated in this unfortunate death, which indeed had been foretold him by Amasis, king of Egypt.

CXXVI. But it was not long before Orœtes paid ample vengeance to the manes of Polycrates. After the death of Cambyses, and the usurpation of the magi, Orœtes, who had never deserved well of the Persians, whom the Medes had fraudulently deprived of the supreme authority, took the advantage of the disorder of the times to put to death Mitrobates, the

amongst the ancients esteemed a very serious calamity. Electra in Sophocles enumerates this in the catalogue of her misfortunes.

Electra makes a similar complaint in the Orestes of Euri*pides; as does* also Polyxena at the point of death, in the *Hecuba of Euripides.*

governor of Dascylium, and his son Cranapes. Mitrobates was the person who had formerly reproached Orœtes; and both he and his son were highly esteemed in Persia. In addition to his other numerous and atrocious crimes, he compassed the death of a messenger sent to him from Darius, for no other reason but because the purport of the message was not agreeable to him. He ordered the man to be waylaid in his return, and both he and his horse were slain, and their bodies concealed.

CXXVII. As soon as Darius ascended the throne he determined to punish Orœtes for his various enormities, but more particularly for the murder of Mitrobates and his son. He did not think it prudent to send an armed force openly against him, as the state was still unsettled, and as his own authority had been so recently obtained; he was informed, moreover, that Orœtes possessed considerable strength; his government extended over Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia; and he was regularly attended by a guard of a thousand men. Darius was therefore induced to adopt this mode of proceeding. He assembled the noblest of the Persians, and thus addressed them: 'Which of you, O Persians! will undertake for me the accomplishment of a project which requires sagacity alone, without military aid, or any kind of violence? for where wisdom is required, force is of little avail;—which of you will bring me the body of Orœtes, alive or dead? He has never deserved well of the Persians; and, in addition to his numerous crimes, he has killed two of our countrymen, Mitrobates and his son. He has also, with intolerable insolence, put a messenger of mine to death: we must prevent, therefore, his perpetrating any greater evils against us, by putting him to death.'

CXXVIII. When Darius had thus spoken, thirty

Persians offered to accomplish what we wished. A they were disputing on the subject, the king ordere the decision to be made by lot, which fell on Bagæus the son of Artontes. To attain the end which he pro posed, he caused a number of letters to be written o a variety of subjects; and prefixing to them the sea of Darius, he proceeded with them to Sardis. As soo as he came to the presence of Orœtes he delivere the letters one by one to the king's secretary; one c whom is regularly attendant on the governors of pro vinces. The motive of Bagæus in delivering the let ters separately was to observe the disposition of th guards, and how far they might be inclined to revol from Orœtes. When he saw that they treated th letters with great respect,[1] and their contents with stil greater, he delivered one to this effect: 'Persians King Darius forbids you serving any longer Orœtes a guards:' in a moment they threw down their arms Bagæus, observing their prompt obedience in this in stance, assumed still greater confidence; he delivere the last of his letters, of which these were the con tents: 'King Darius commands the Persians who ar at Sardis to put Orœtes to death:' without hesitatio they drew their swords and killed him. In this man ner was the death of Polycrates of Samos revenged o Orœtes the Persian.

CXXIX. On the death of Orœtes his effects wer all of them removed to Susa. Not long after whic Darius, as he was engaged in the chase, in leapin from his horse, twisted his foot with so much violenc

1 At the present period the distinction observed with re gard to letters in the East is this: those sent to common per sons are rolled up, and not sealed; those sent to nobleme and princes are sealed up, and inclosed in rich bags of sil or satin curiously embroidered.—T.

ıat the ancle bone was quite dislocated. Having at is court some Egyptians, supposed to be the most :ilful of the medical profession, he trusted to their ısistance. They however increased the evil, by twistıg and otherwise violently handling the part affected: om the extreme pain which he endured the king ıssed seven days and as many nights without sleep. ı this situation, on the eighth day, some one ventured › recommend Democedes of Crotona, having before eard of his reputation at Sardis. Darius immediately ent for him: he was discovered amongst the slaves of 'rœtes, where he had continued in neglect, and was rought to the king just as he was found, in chains ad in rags.

CXXX. As soon as he appeared Darius asked him ' he had any knowlege of medicine. In the appreension that if he discovered his art he should never ave the power of returning to Greece, Democedes for while dissembled; which Darius perceiving, he rdered those who had brought him to produce the ıstruments of punishment and torture. Democedes egan then to be more explicit; and confessed that, lthough he possessed no great knowlege of the art, et by his communication with a physician he had btained some little proficiency. The management of ıe case was then intrusted to him; he accordingly pplied such medicines and strong fomentations as 'ere customary in Greece, by which means Darius, 'ho began to despair of ever recovering the intire use f his foot, was not only enabled to sleep, but in a ıort time perfectly restored to health. In acknowgement of his cure Darius presented him with two air of fetters of gold; on which Democedes ventured › ask the king whether, in return for his restoring *im to health, he wish*ed to double his calamity. The

king, delighted with the reply, sent the r
apartments of his women: the eunuchs who
him informed them that this was the mar
restored the king to life; accordingly, ev
them taking out a vase of gold, gave it to I
with the case. The present was so very val
a servant who followed him behind, whose
Sciton, by gathering up the staters which :
ground obtained a prodigious sum of money

CXXXI. The following was what induc
cedes to forsake Crotona and attach himsel
crates.—At Crotona he suffered continual
from the austere temper of his father; this
insupportable, he left him, and went to Æ
the first year of his residence at this place h
the most skilful of the medical profession
having had any regular education, and indee
the common instruments of the art. His i
however was so great, that in the second
inhabitants of Ægina, by general consent, en
services at the price of one talent. In the t
the Athenians retained him, at a salary of on
minæ;[1] and in the fourth year Polycrates e

1 Valckenaer suspects that this place has been
some copyists. Athens, in the time of its greates
allowed their ambassadors but two drachmæ a (
hundred drachmæ make but one mina. If when the
were rich they gave no more to an ambassador,
likely that, when they were exceedingly poor, t
give a pension of a hundred minæ to a physician?
Valckenaer. From this and other passages in t
writers, it appears that in remoter times it was us
physicians for the assistance of a whole city by the
fees which were given physicians for a single incic
were very inconsiderable, as appears from the fam
of Crates, preserved by Diogenes Laertius: 'To a
to a physician two groats; to a flatterer 900l.; to

give him two talents. His residence was then fixed at Samos; and to this man the physicians of Crotona are considerably indebted for the reputation which they enjoy; for at this period, in point of medical celebrity, the physicians of Crotona held the first, and those of Cyrene the next place. At this time also the Argives had the credit of being the most skilful musicians[1] of Greece.

CXXXII. Democedes having in this manner restored the king to health, had a sumptuous house provided him at Susa; was entertained at the king's own table; and, except the restriction of not being able to return to Greece, enjoyed all that he could wish. The Egyptian physicians, who had before the care of the king's health, were, on account of their inferiority to Democedes, a Greek, condemned to the cross; but he obtained their pardon. He also procured the liberty of an Elean soothsayer; who, having followed Polycrates, was detained and neglected amongst his other slaves. It may be added, that Democedes remained in the highest estimation with the king.

CXXXIII. It happened not long afterwards that Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Darius, had an ulcer on her breast; which, finally breaking, spread itself considerably. As long as it was small she was induced by delicacy to conceal it; but when it grew more troublesome she sent for Democedes, and showed it to him. He told her he was able to cure it; but

nothing; to a philosopher a groat.' The above is supposed to describe part of the accounts of a man of fortune.—*T.*

1 Music was an important part of Grecian education. Boys till they were ten years old were taught to read by the grammatistes; they were then taught music three years by the citharistes; after their thirteenth year they learned the gymnastic exercises, under the care of the paidotades.—T.

exacted of her an oath that in return she should serve him in whatever he might require, which he assured her should be nothing to disgrace her.

CXXXIV. Atossa was cured by his skill; and, observant of her own promise and his instructions, she took the opportunity of thus addressing Darius, whilst she was in bed with him: 'It is wonderful, my lord, that having such a numerous army at command, you have neither increased the power of Persia nor at all extended your dominions. It becomes a man like you, in the vigor of your age, and master of so many and such powerful resources, to perform some act which may satisfy the Persians of the spirit and virtue of their prince. There are two reasons which give importance to what I recommend:—the one, that your subjects may venerate the manly accomplishments of their master: the other, that you may prevent the indolence of peace exciting them to tumult and sedition. Do not therefore consume your youth in inactivity, for the powers of the mind increase and improve with those of the body; and in like manner, as old age comes on, they become weaker and weaker, till they are finally blunted to every thing.'—'What you say,' answered Darius, 'coincides with what was passing in my mind. I had intended to make war against Scythia, and to construct a bridge to unite our continent with the other; which things shall soon be executed.'—'Will it not, sir,' returned Atossa, 'be better to defer your intentions against the Scythians, who will at any time afford you an easy conquest? Rather make an expedition against Greece. I wish much to have for my attendants some women of Sparta, Argos, Athens, and Corinth, of whom I have heard so much. You have, moreover, in the man who healed the wound of your foot the properest person in the world

to describe and explain to you every thing which relates to Greece.'—'If it be your wish,' replied Darius, 'that I should first make a military excursion against Greece, it will be proper to send thither previously some Persians as spies, in company with the man to whom you allude. As soon as they return, and have informed me of the result of their observations, I will proceed against Greece.'

CXXXV. Darius having delivered his sentiments, no time was lost in fulfilling them. As soon as the morning appeared he sent for fifteen Persians of approved reputation, and commanded them, in company with Democedes, to examine every part of the sea-coast of Greece, enjoining them to be very watchful of Democedes, and by all means to bring him back with them. When he had done this, he next sent for Democedes himself; and after desiring him to examine and explain to the Persians every thing which related to Greece, he entreated him to return in their company. All the valuables which he possessed he recommended him to take as presents to his father and his brethren; assuring him that he should be provided with a greater number on his return. He moreover informed him that he had directed a vessel to accompany him, which was to be furnished with various things of value. In these professions Darius, as I am of opinion, was perfectly sincere; but Democedes, apprehending that the king meant to make trial of his fidelity, accepted these proposals without much acknowlegement. He desired, however, to leave his own effects, that they might be ready for his use at his return; but he accepted the vessel which was to carry the presents for his family. Darius, after giving these injunctions to Democedes, dismissed the party to prosecute their voyage

CXXXVI. As soon as they arrived at Sidon, i Phœnicia, they manned two triremes, and loaded large transport with different articles of wealth; afte this they proceeded to Greece, examining the sea coasts with the most careful attention. When the had informed themselves of the particulars relating t the most important places in Greece, they passed ove to Tarentum[1] in Italy. Here Aristophilides, princ of Tarentum, and a native of Crotona, took away th helms of the Median vessels, and detained the Per sians as spies. Whilst his companions were in thi predicament, Democedes himself went to Crotona On his arrival at his native place, Aristophilides gav the Persians their liberty, and restored what he ha taken from them.

CXXXVII. The Persians, as soon as they reco vered their liberty, sailed to Crotona, in pursuit o Democedes; and meeting with him in the forum seized his person. Some of the inhabitants, througl fear of the Persian power, were willing to deliver him up; others, on the contrary, beat the Persians witl clubs; who exclaimed, 'Men of Crotona, conside what ye do, in taking away from us a fugitive from our king. Do you imagine that you will derive any advantage from this insult to Darius? will not rathe your city be the first object of our hostilities, the firs that we shall plunder and reduce to servitude?' Thes menaces had but little effect on the people of Crotona for they not only assisted Democedes to escape, bu also deprived the Persians of the vessel which accom panied them. They were therefore under the necessity of returning to Asia without exploring any more o

1 *These* places, with the slightest variation possible, re*tain their ancient* names. We now say the gulf of Tarento *and Crotona* is now called Cottrone.—T.

Greece, being thus deprived of their conductor. On their departure Democedes commissioned them to inform Darius that he was married to a daughter of Milo; the name of Milo the wrestler being well known to the Persian monarch. To me it seems that he hastened his marriage, and expended a vast sum of money on the occasion, to convince Darius that he enjoyed in his own country no mean reputation.

CXXXVIII. The Persians, leaving Crotona[1] were driven by contrary winds to Japygia, where they were made slaves. Gillus, an exile of Tarentum, ransomed them, and sent them home to Darius. For this service the king declared himself willing to perform whatever Gillus should require, who accordingly explaining the circumstances of his misfortune, requested to be restored to his country. But Darius thinking, that if, for the purpose of effecting the restoration of this man, a large fleet should be fitted out, all Greece would take alarm, he said that the Cnidians would of themselves be able to accomplish it; imagining that as this people were in alliance with the Tarentines, it might be effected without difficulty. Darius acceded to his wishes, and sent a messenger to Cnidos, requiring them to restore Gillus to Tarentum. The Cnidians were desirous to satisfy Darius; but their solicitations had no effect on the Tarentines, and they were not in a situation to employ force. Of these particulars, the above is a faithful relation, and these were the first Persians who, with the view of examining the state of Greece, passed over thither from Asia.

CXXXIX. Not long afterwards Darius besieged and took Samos. This was the first city, either of Greeks or barbarians, which felt the force of his arms, and *for these reasons*: Cambyses, in his expe-*dition against Egypt*, was accompanied by a great

number of Greeks. Some, as it is probable, attended him from commercial views, others as soldiers, and many from no other motive than curiosity. Among these last was Syloson, an exile of Samos, son of Eaces, and brother of Polycrates. It happened one day very fortunately for this Syloson, that he was walking in the great square of Memphis with a red cloak folded about him. Darius, who was then in the king's guards, and of no particular consideration, saw him, and was so delighted with his cloak, that he went up to him with the view of purchasing it. Syloson, observing that Darius was very solicitous to have the cloak, happily, as it proved for him, expressed himself thus:—'I would not part with this cloak for any pecuniary consideration whatever: but if it must be so, I will make you a present of it.' Darius praised his generosity, and accepted the cloak.

CXL. Syloson for a while thought he had foolishly lost his cloak, but afterwards when Cambyses died, and the seven conspirators had destroyed the magus, he learned that Darius, one of these seven, had obtained the kingdom, and was the very man to whom formerly at his request, in Egypt, he had given his cloak. He went therefore to Susa, and presenting himself before the royal palace, said that he had once done a service to the king. Of this circumstance the porter informed the king; who was much astonished, and exclaimed, 'To what Greek can I possibly be obliged for any services? I have not long been in possession of my authority, and since this time no Greek has been admitted to my presence, nor can I at all remember being indebted to one of that nation. Introduce him, however, that I may know what he has to say.' Syloson was accordingly admitted to the royal presence; and being interrogated by interpreters

who he was, and in what circumstance he had rendered service to the king, he told the story of the cloak, and said that he was the person who had given it. In reply, Darius exclaimed, 'Are you then that generous man, who, at a time when I was possessed of no authority, made me a present, which, though small, was as valuable to me then, as any thing of importance would be to me now? I will give you in return, that you may never repent of your kindness to Darius, the son of Hystaspes, abundance of gold and silver.' 'Sir,' replied Syloson, 'I would have neither gold nor silver; give me Samos my country, and deliver it from servitude. Since the death of Polycrates my brother, whom Orœtes slew, it has been in the hands of one of our slaves. Give me this, sir, without any effusion of blood, or reducing my countrymen to servitude.'

CXLI. On hearing this, Darius sent an army, commanded by Otanes, one of the seven, with orders to accomplish all that Syloson had desired. Otanes proceeded to the sea, and embarked with his troops.

CXLII. The supreme authority at Samos was then possessed by Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, to whom it had been confided by Polycrates himself. He was desirous of proving himself a very honest man, but the times would not allow him. As soon as he was informed of the death of Polycrates, the first thing he did was to erect an altar to Jupiter Liberator, tracing round it the sacred ground, which may now be seen in the neighborhood of the city. Having done this, he assembled the citizens of Samos, and thus addressed them: 'You are well acquainted that Polycrates confided to me his sceptre and his power, which if I think proper I may *retain; but I* shall certainly avoid doing *that myself which I deem*ed reprehensible in another.

The ambition of Polycrates to rule over men who were his equals always seemed to me unjust; nor can I approve of a like conduct in any man. Polycrates has yielded to his destiny; and for my part, I lay down the supreme authority, and restore you all to an equality of power. I only claim, which I think I reasonably may, six talents to be given me from the wealth of Polycrates, as well as the appointment in perpetuity, to me and my posterity, of the priesthood of Jupiter Liberator, whose temple I have traced out; and then I restore you to liberty.' When Mæandrius had thus spoken, a Samian exclaimed from the midst of the assembly, 'You are not worthy to rule over us; your principles are bad, and your conduct reproachable. Rather let us make you give an account of the wealth which has passed through your hands.' The name of this person was Telesarchus, a man much respected by his fellow-citizens.

CXLIII. Mæandrius revolved this circumstance in his mind; and being convinced that if he resigned his power, some other would assume it, he determined to continue as he was. Returning to the citadel, he sent for the citizens, as if to give them an account of the monies which had been alluded to, instead of which he seized and confined them. Whilst they remained in imprisonment Mæandrius was taken ill; his brother Lycaretus, not thinking he would recover, that he might the more easily succeed in his views on Samos, put the citizens who were confined to death; indeed it did not appear that they were desirous of life under the government of a tyrant.

CXLIV. When therefore the Persians arrived at Samos, with the view of restoring Syloson, they had *no resistance* to encounter. The Mæandrian faction *expressed* themselves on certain conditions ready

submit; and Mæandrius himself consented to leave the island. Their propositions were accepted by Otanes; and whilst they were employed in ratifying them the principal men of the Persians had seats brought, on which they placed themselves in front of the citadel.

CXLV. Mæandrius had a brother, whose name was Charileus, who was of an untoward disposition, and for some offence was kept chained in a dungeon. As soon as he heard what was doing, and beheld from his place of confinement the Persians sitting at their ease, he clamorously requested to speak with Mæandrius. Mæandrius, hearing this, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him. As soon as he came into his presence he began to reproach and abuse him, earnestly importuning him to attack the Persians. 'Me,' he exclaimed, 'who am your brother, and who have done nothing worthy of chains, you have most basely kept bound in a dungeon; but on the Persians, who would afford you an easy victory, and who mean to drive you into exile, you dare not take revenge. If your fears prevent you, give me your auxiliary troops, who am equally disposed to punish them for coming here, and to expel you yourself from our island.'

CXLVI. To this discourse Mæandrius gave a favorable ear, not, I believe, that he was absurd enough to imagine himself equal to a contest with the forces of the king, but from a spirit of envy against Syloson, and to prevent his receiving the government of Samos without trouble or exertion. He wished, by irritating the Persians, to debilitate the power of Samos, and then to deliver it into their hands; for he well knew that the Persians would resent whatever insults they might receive, on the Samians; and as to himself, he was certain that whenever he pleased he could depart

unmolested, for he had provided a secret path, led immediately from the citadel to the sea, by he afterwards escaped. In the meanwhile Cha having armed the auxiliaries, opened the gate sallied forth to attack the Persians, who, so fa expecting any thing of the kind, believed that a had been agreed on, and was than in force. On Persians, who were sitting at their ease, and wh persons of distinction, the Samians sallied, ar them to death; the rest of the troops, however came to their assistance, by whom the party of leus was repulsed, and obliged again to seek she the citadel.

CXLVII. Otanes, the commander-in-chief hitherto observed the orders of Darius, not to p Samian to death, or to take any prisoners, but liver the island to Syloson, secure and without i but seeing so great a slaughter of his countrym indignation prevailed, and he ordered his sold put every Samian they could meet with to death, w any distinction of age. Part of his forces imme blockaded the citadel, whilst another part were p the inhabitants to the sword, not suffering the places to afford any protection.

CXLVIII. Mæandrius, leaving Samos, sai Lacedæmon. On his arrival there with his weal set in order his goblets of gold and silver, a rected his servants to clean them. Having e into conversation with Cleomenes, son of A drides, the king of Sparta, he invited him to his Cleomenes saw his plate, and was struck with nishment. Mæandrius desired him to accept o he pleased;[1] but Cleomenes was a man of the st

1 *This self*-denial will appear less extraordinar

robity, and although Mæandrius persisted in importuning him to take something, he would by no means onsent; but hearing that some of his fellow-citizens ad received presents from Mæandrius, he went to he ephori, and gave it as his opinion that it would e better for the interests of Sparta to expel this Samian from the Peloponnesus, lest either he himself, r any other Spartan, should be corrupted by him. The advice of Cleomenes was generally approved, and Mæandrius received a public order to depart.

CXLIX. When the Persians had taken the Samians s in a net, they delivered the island to Syloson almost without an inhabitant. After a certain interval, however, Otanes, the Persian general, re-peopled it, on ccount of some vision which he had, as well as from disorder which seized him.

CL. Whilst the expedition against Samos was on oot, the Babylonians, being very well prepared, revolted. During the reign of the magus, and whilst he seven were engaged in their conspiracy against him, they had taken advantage of the confusion of the

English reader, when he is informed, that according to the nstitutions of Lycurgus, it was a capital offence for a Spartan o have any gold or silver in his possession. This we learn rom Xenophon; and it is also ascertained by the following passage from Athenæus; see the sixth book of the Deipnosoph: 'The divine Plato and Lycurgus of Sparta would not suffer in their republics either gold or silver, thinking that of ll the metals iron and brass were sufficient.' Plutarch, in the life of Lysander, tells us of a man named Therax, who, though the friend and colleague of Lysander, was put to leath by the ephori, because some silver was found in his house. The self-denial, therefore, or rather forbearance of the ancient Romans, amongst whom no such interdiction existed, seems better intitled to our praise. This sumptuary law with respect to gold and silver, took its rise from an oracle, which affirmed that the destruction of Sparta would be owing to its avarice.

times to provide against a siege, and their exertions had never been discovered. When they had once resolved on the recovery of their liberties, they took this measure:—excepting their mothers, every man chose from his family the female whom he liked best, the remainder were all of them assembled together, and strangled. Their reserve of one woman was to bake their bread;[1] the rest were destroyed to prevent a famine.

CLI. On the first intelligence of this event, Darius assembled his forces, and marched against them: on his arrival before the city he besieged it in form. This, however, made so little impression on them, that they assembled on the ramparts, amused themselves with dancing, and treated Darius and his army with the extremest contempt. One amongst them exclaimed, 'Persians, why do you lose your time? if you be wise, depart. When mules produce young you shall take Babylon.' This was the speech of a Babylonian, not believing such a thing possible.

CLII. A whole year and seven months having been consumed before the place, Darius and his army began to be hopeless with respect to the event. They had applied all the offensive engines, and every stratagem, particularly those which Cyrus had before successfully used against the Babylonians; but every attempt proved ineffectual, from the unremitting vigilance of the besieged.

CLIII. In the twentieth month of the siege the following remarkable prodigy happened to Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven that dethroned the magus: one of the mules employed to

1 *This* anciently was the employment of the women: see *b.* VII. *c.* clxxxvii.—*T.*

carry his provisions produced a young one; which, when it was first told him, he disbelieved, and desired to see it: forbidding those who had witnessed the fact to disclose it, he revolved it seriously in his mind; and remembering the words of the Babylonian, who had said the city should be taken when a mule brought forth, he from this conceived that Babylon was not impregnable. The saying itself, and the mule's having a young one, seemed to indicate something preternatural.

CLIV. Having satisfied himself that Babylon might be taken, he went to Darius, and inquired if the capture of this city was of particular importance to him. Hearing that it really was, he began to think how he might have the honor of effecting it by himself; for in Persia there is no more certain road to greatness than by the performance of illustrious actions. He conceived there was no more probable means of obtaining his end, than first to mutilate himself, and thus pass over to the enemy. He made no scruple to wound himself beyond the power of being healed; for he cut off his nose and his ears, and clipping his hair close, so as to give it a mean appearance,[1] he scourged himself; and in this condition presented himself before Darius.

CLV. When the king beheld a man of his illustrious rank in so deplorable a condition, he instantly leaped in anger from his throne, and asked who had dared to treat him with such barbarity? Zopyrus made this reply, 'No man, sir, except yourself, could

1 I do not remember an instance of the hair being cut off as a punishment; it was frequently done as expressive of mourning in the most remote times; and it was one characteristic *mark of the servile* condition. See Juvenal, sat. v. *b. i. 170.*

have this power over my person; I alone have thu disfigured my body, which I was prompted to do fron vexation at beholding the Assyrians thus mock us.'— 'Wretched man!' answered the king, 'do you endea vor to disguise the shameful action you have perpe trated under an honorable name? Do you suppose that because you have thus deformed yourself th enemy will the sooner surrender? I fear what yo have done has been occasioned by some defect of you reason.'—'Sir,' answered Zopyrus, 'if I had pre viously disclosed to you my intentions you would have prevented their accomplishment; my presen situation is the result of my own determination only If you do not fail me, Babylon is our own. I propose to go in the condition in which you see me, as a de serter to the Babylonians: it is my hope to persuade them that I have suffered these cruelties from you and that they will, in consequence, give me some place of military trust. Do you, on the tenth day after my departure, detach to the gate of Semiramis a thousand men of your army, whose loss will be of no consequence; at an interval of seven days more, send to the Ninian gates other two thousand; again, after twenty days, let another party, to the number of fou thousand, be ordered to the Chaldean gates; but le none of these detachments have any weapons but thei swords; after this last-mentioned period, let you whole army advance, and surround the walls. At the Belidian and Cissian gates be careful that Persians are stationed. I think that the Babylonians, after witnessing my exploits in the field, will intrust me with the keys of those gates. Doubt not but the Persians, with my aid, will then accomplish the rest.'

CLVI. After giving these injunctions he proceeded towards the gates; and, to be consistent in the cha

racter which he assumed, he frequently stopped to look behind him. The sentinels on the watch-towers, observing this, ran down to the gate, which, opening a little, they inquired who he was, and what he wanted? When he told them his name was Zopyrus, and that he had deserted from the Persians, they conducted him before their magistrates. He then began a miserable tale of the injuries he had suffered from Darius, for no other reason but that he had advised him to withdraw his army, seeing no likelihood of his taking the city. 'And now,' said he, 'ye men of Babylon, I come a friend to you, but a fatal enemy to Darius and his army. I am well acquainted with all his designs, and his treatment of me shall not be unrevenged.'

CLVII. When the Babylonians beheld a Persian of such high rank deprived of his ears and his nose, covered with wounds and blood, they entertained no doubts of his sincerity, or of the friendliness of his intentions towards them. They were prepared to accede to all that he desired; and on his requesting a military command, they gave it him without hesitation. He then proceeded to the execution of what he had concerted with Darius. On the tenth day, at the head of some Babylonian troops, he made a sally from the town, and encountering the Persians, who had been stationed for this purpose by Darius, he put every one of them to death. The Babylonians, observing that his actions corresponded with his professions, were full of exultation, and were ready to yield him the most implicit obedience. A second time, at the head of a chosen detachment of the besieged, he advanced from the town at the time appointed, and slew the two thousand soldiers of Darius. The joy of the citizens at this second exploit was so extreme, that

the name of Zopyrus resounded with praise from every tongue. The third time also, after the number of days agreed on had passed, he led forth his troops, attacked and slaughtered the four thousand. Zopyrus, after this, was every thing with the Babylonians, so that they made him the commander of their army, and guardian of their walls.

CLVIII. At the time appointed Darius advanced with all his forces to the walls. The perfidy of Zopyrus then became apparent; for as soon as the Babylonians mounted the wall to repel the Persian assault, he immediately opened to his countrymen what are called the Belidian and Cissian gates. Those Babylonians who saw this transaction fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter Belus; they who saw it not continued in their posts, till the circumstance of their being betrayed became notorious to all.

CLIX. Thus was Babylon a second time taken. As soon as Darius became master of the place he levelled the walls, and took away the gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done before. Three thousand of the most distinguished nobility he ordered to be crucified: the rest were suffered to continue where they were. He took care also to provide them with women; for the Babylonians, as we have before remarked, to prevent a famine, had strangled their wives. Darius ordered the neighboring nations to send females to Babylon, each being obliged to furnish a stipulated number. These in all amounted to fifty thousand, from whom the Babylonians of the present day are descended.

CLX. With respect to the merit of Zopyrus, in the opinion of Darius it was exceeded by no Persian of any period, unless by Cyrus; to him, indeed, he thought no one of his countrymen could possibly be compared,

It is affirmed of Darius, that he used frequently to assert, that he would rather Zopyrus had suffered no injury, than have been master of twenty Babylons more. He rewarded him magnificently: every year he presented him with the gifts deemed most honorable in Persia; he made him also governor of Babylon for life, free from the payment of any tribute; and to these he added other marks of liberality. Megabyzus, who commanded in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies, was a son of this Zopyrus; which Megabyzus had a son named Zopyrus, who deserted from the Persians to the Athenians.

BOOK IV.—MELPOMENE.

CHAP. I. DARIUS, after the capture of Babylon, undertook an expedition against Scythia. Asia was now both populous and rich, and he was desirous of avenging on the Scythians the injuries they had formerly committed by entering Media, and defeating those who opposed them. During a period of twenty-eight years the Scythians, as I have before remarked, retained the sovereignty of the Upper Asia; entering into which, when in pursuit of the Cimmerians,[1] they

1 From this people came the proverb of Cimmerian darkness.

We reach'd old ocean's utmost bounds,
Where rocks control his waves with ever-during mounds;

expelled the Medes, its ancient possessors. After this long absence from their country, the Scythians were desirous to return; but here as great a labor awaited them as they had experienced in their expedition into Media; for the women, deprived so long of their husbands, had associated with their slaves, and they found a numerous body in arms ready to dispute their progress.

II. It is a custom with the Scythians to deprive all their slaves of sight[1] on account of the milk,[2] which is

There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells.
The sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,
When radiant he advances or retreats.
Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.
Odyss. b. xi.

Of this proverb Ammianus Marcellinus makes a happy use when censuring the luxury and effeminacy of the Roman nobility. 'If,' says he (I use the version of Mr. Gibbon), 'a fly should presume to settle in the silken folds of their gilded umbrellas, should a sunbeam penetrate through some unguarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable hardships, and lament in affected language that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians, the regions of eternal darkness.'

Ovid also chooses the vicinity of Cimmeria as the properest place for the palace of the god of sleep.

The region assigned to this people in ancient geography was part of European Scythia, now called Little Tartary.—*T.*

1 Barbarous as this conduct will appear to every humane reader, although practised amongst an uncivilised race of men, he will be far more shocked when I remind him that in the most refined period of the Roman empire those who were deemed the wisest and most virtuous of mankind did not scruple to use their slaves with yet more atrocious cruelty. It was customary at Rome to expose slaves who were sick, old, and useless, to perish miserably in an island of the Tiber. Plutarch tells us in his Life of Cato, that it was his custom to sell his old slaves for any price, to get rid of the burden. They were employed, and frequently in chains, in the most laborious offices, and for trivial offences

their customary drink. They have a particular kind of bone, shaped like a flute: this is applied to a mare, and blown into from the mouth. It is one man's office to blow, another's to milk the mare. Their idea is, that the veins of the animal being thus inflated, the dugs are proportionably filled. When the milk is thus obtained they place it in deep wooden vessels, and the slaves are directed to keep it in continual agitation. Of this, that which remains at the top[1] is most esteemed; what subsides is of inferior value. This it is which induces the Scythians to deprive all their cap-

and not seldom on mere suspicion, were made to expire under the most horrid tortures that can be imagined.—*T.*

2 Of this people Homer speaks in the following lines:

And where the far-famed Hippomolgian strays,
Renown'd for justice and for length of days,
Thrice happy race, that, innocent of blood,
From milk innoxious seek their simple food.—*Il.* xii.

We learn from some lines of Antiphanes, preserved in Athenæus, that the Scythians gave this milk to their children as soon as they were born:—

'Do not those Scythians appear to you remarkably wise who give to their children as soon as ever they are born the milk of mares and cows?'—*T.*

1 Is it not surprising, asks M. Larcher in this place, that neither the Greeks nor the Latins had any term in their language to express cream?

Butter also was unknown to the Greeks and Romans till a late period. Pliny speaks of it as a common article of food among barbarous nations, and used by them as an unction. The very name of butter, which signifies cheese, or coagulum of cows' milk, implies an imperfect notion of the thing. It is clear that Herodotus here describes the making of butter, though he knew no name for the product. Pliny remarks that the barbarous nations were as peculiar in neglecting cheese, as in making butter. *Spuma lactis*, which that author uses in describing what butter is, seems a very proper phrase for cream. Butter is often mentioned in Scripture; see Harmer's curious accounts of the modes of making it in the East, vol. i. and *iii.*—*T.*

tives of sight; for they do not cultivate the ground, but lead a pastoral life.[1]

III. From the union of these slaves with the Scythian women a numerous progeny was born; who, when informed of their origin, readily advanced to oppose those who were returning from Media. Their first exertion was to intersect the country by a large and deep trench, which extended from the mountains of Tauris to the Palus Mœotis. They then encamped opposite to the Scythians, who were endeavoring to effect their passage. Various engagements ensued, in which the Scythians obtained no advantage. 'My countrymen,' at length one of them exclaimed, 'what are we doing? In this contest with our slaves every action diminishes our number; and by killing those who oppose us the value of victory decreases: let us throw aside our darts and our arrows, and rush on them only with the whips which we use for our horses. Whilst they see us with arms, they think themselves our equals in birth and importance; but as soon as they shall perceive the whip in our hands, they will be impressed with the sense of their servile condition, and resist no longer.'

IV. The Scythians approved the advice; their opponents forgot their former exertions and fled: so did the Scythians obtain the sovereignty of Asia; and thus, after having been expelled by the Medes, they

1 The influence of food or climate, which in a more improved state of society is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form and to maintain the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life.—*Gibbon.*

returned to their country. From the above motives Darius, eager for revenge, prepared to lead an army against them.

V. The Scythians affirm of their country that it was of all others the last formed,[1] and in this manner:—when this region was in its original and desert state, the first inhabitant was named Targitaus, a son, as they say (but which to me seems incredible) of Jupiter, by a daughter of the Borysthenes. This Targitaus had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and lastly, Colaxais. Whilst they possessed the country there fell from heaven into the Scythian district a plough, a yoke, an axe, and a goblet, all of gold. The eldest of the brothers was the first who saw them; who, running to take them, was burnt by the gold. On his retiring the second brother approached, and was burnt also. When these two had been repelled by the burning gold, last of all the youngest brother advanced; on him the gold had no effect, and he carried it to his house. The two elder brothers, observing what had happened, resigned all authority to the youngest.

VI. From Lipoxais those Scythians were descended who are termed the Auchatæ; from Arpoxais, the second brother, those who are called the Catiari and the Traspies; from the youngest, who was king, came the Paralatæ. Generally speaking, these people are named Scoloti, from a surname of their king, but the Greeks call them Scythians.

VII. This is the account which the Scythians give of their origin; and they add, that from their first king, Targitaus, to the invasion of their country by Darius, is a period of a thousand years, and no more.

1 Justin *informs us that* the Scythians pretended to be *more ancient than the Egyptians.—T.*

The sacred gold is preserved by their kings with the greatest care: it is every year carried with great solemnity to every part of the kingdom; and on this occasion there are sacrifices, with much pomp, at which the prince presides. They have a tradition, that if the person in whose custody this gold remains sleeps in the open air during the time of their annual festival, he dies before the end of the year: as much land is therefore given him as he can pass over on horseback in the course of a day. As this region is extensive, King Colaxais divided the country into three parts, which he gave to three sons; making that portion the largest in which the gold was deposited. As to the district which lies farther to the north, and beyond the extreme inhabitants of the country, they say that it neither can be passed, nor yet discerned with the eye, on account of the feathers[1] which are continually falling: with these both the earth and the air are so filled as effectually to obstruct the view.

VIII. Such is the manner in which the Scythians describe themselves and the country beyond them. The Greeks who inhabit Pontus speak of both as follows:—Hercules, when he was driving away the heifers of Geryon, came to this region, now inhabited by the Scythians, but which then was a desert. This Geryon lived beyond Pontus, in an island which the Greeks call Erythia, near Gades, which is situate in the ocean, and beyond the Columns of Hercules. The ocean, they say, commencing at the east, flows round all the earth;[2] this however they affirm without prov-

1 It must immediately occur to the reader that these feathers can be nothing else but snow.—*T.*

2 On this passage the following remark occurs in *Stillingfleet's Origin. Sacr.* b. i. c. 4:—

'*It cannot be denied but a great deal of useful history may be fetched* out of Herodotus; yet who can excuse his igno-

it. Hercules, coming from thence, arrived at this intry, now called Scythia; where, finding himself rtaken by a severe storm, and being exceedingly d, he wrapped himself up in his lion's skin, and it to sleep. They add, that his mares, which he l detached from his chariot to feed, by some divine erposition disappeared during his sleep.

X. As soon as he awoke he wandered over all the intry in search of his mares, till at length he came the district which is called Hylæa: there, in a cave, discovered a female of most unnatural appearance, embling a woman as far as the thighs, but whose 'er parts were like a serpent.[1] Hercules beheld with astonishment; but he was not deterred from ing her whether she had seen his mares? She de answer, that they were in her custody: she re- ed, however, to restore them, but on condition of resting with her. The terms proposed induced rcules to consent; but she still deferred restoring mares, from the wish of retaining him longer with , whilst Hercules was equally anxious to obtain m and depart. After a while she restored them, h these words: 'Your mares, which wandered e, I have preserved; you have paid what was due ny care; I have by you three sons: I wish you to how I shall dispose of them hereafter; whether I ll detain them here, where I am the sole sovereign,

e, when he not only denies there is an ocean compassing land, but condemns the geographers for asserting it?' odotus, however, neither denies the fact, nor condemns geographers.

M. Pelloutier calls this monster a syren, but Homer re- sents the syrens as very lovely women.

iodorus Siculus speaks also of this monster, describing it Herodotus. He makes her the mistress of Jupiter, by m *she had Scythes*, who gave his name to the nation.— *her.*

or whether I shall send them to you.' The reply of Hercules was to this effect: 'As soon as they shall be grown up to man's estate, observe this, and you cannot err; whichever of them you shall see bend this bow, and wear this belt[1] as I do, him detain in this country: the others, who shall not be able to do this, you may send away. By minding what I say you will have pleasure yourself, and will satisfy my wishes.'

X. Having said this Hercules took one of his bows; for thus far he had carried two, and showing her also his belt, at the end of which a golden cup was suspended, he gave her them, and departed. As soon as the boys of whom she was delivered grew up, she called the eldest Agathyrsus, the second Gelonus, and the youngest Scytha. She remembered also the injunctions she had received; and two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, who were incompetent to the trial which was proposed, were sent away by their mother from this country; Scytha, the youngest, was successful in his exertions, and remained. From this Scytha, the son of Hercules, the Scythian monarchs are descended; and from the golden cup, the Scythians to this day have a cup at the end of their belts.

XI. This is the story which the Greek inhabitants of Pontus relate; but there is also another, to which I am more inclined to assent:—The Scythian Nomades of Asia having been harassed by the Massagetæ in war, passed the Araxis, and settled in Cimmeria; for it is to be observed, that the country now possessed by the Scythians belonged formerly to the Cimmerians.

1 It was assigned Hercules as one of his labors by Eurystheus, to whom he was subject, to deprive Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons, of her belt.

Whether Herodotus means to speak of this belt, I pretend not to determine.—T.

This people, when attacked by the Scythians, deliberated what it was most advisable to do against the inroad of so vast a multitude. Their sentiments were divided; both were violent, but that of the kings appears preferable. The people were of opinion that it would be better not to hazard an engagement, but to retreat in security: the kings were, at all events, for resisting the enemy. Neither party would recede from their opinions; the people and the princes mutually refusing to yield: the people wished to retire before the invaders; the princes determined rather to die where they were, reflecting on what they had enjoyed before, and alarmed by the fears of future calamities. From verbal disputes they soon came to actual engagement; and they happened to be nearly equal in number. All those who perished by the hands of their countrymen were buried by the Cimmerians near the river Tyre, where their monuments may still be seen. The survivors fled from their country, which in its abandoned state was seized and occupied by the Scythians.

XII. There are still to be found in Scythia walls and bridges which are termed Cimmerian; the same name is also given to a whole district, as well as to a narrow sea. It is certain, that when the Cimmerians were expelled their country by the Scythians, they fled to the Asiatic Chersonesus, where the Greek city of Sinope[1] is at present situated. It is also apparent, that whilst engaged in the pursuit, the Scythians deviated from their proper course, and entered Media.

1 There were various opinions amongst the ancients concerning this city. Some said it was built by an Amazon so called; others affirm it was founded by the Milesians; Strabo calls it the most illustrious city of Pontus.

The modern name of the place is Sinub, and it stands at *the mouth of a river* called Sinope.—*T.*

The Cimmerians, in their flight, kept uniformly by the sea-coast; but the Scythians, having Mount Caucasus to their right, continued the pursuit, till by following an inland direction they entered Media.

XIII. There is still another account, which has obtained credit both with the Greeks and barbarians. Aristeas the poet, a native of Proconnesus, and son of Caustrobius, relates, that under the influence of Apollo he came to the Issedones; that beyond this people he found the Arimaspi, a nation who have but one eye; farther on were the Gryphins, the guardians of the gold; and beyond these the Hyperboreans,[1] who possess the whole country quite to the sea; and that all these nations, except the Hyperboreans, are continually engaged in war with their neighbors. Of these hostilities the Arimaspians were the first authors; for they drove out the Issedones; the Issedones the Scythians: the Scythians compelled the Cimmerians, who possessed the country towards the south, to abandon their native land. Thus it appears that the narrative of Aristeas differs also from that of the Scythians.

XIV. Of what country the relator of the above account was we have already seen; but I ought not to omit what I have heard of this personage, both at Proconnesus and Cyzicus.[2] It is said of this Aristeas

1 The ancients do not appear to have had any precise ideas of the country of this people. The Hyperborean mountains are also frequently mentioned, which, as appears from Virgil, were the same as the Ryphean.—*T.*

2 This was one of the most florishing cities of Mysia, situate in a small island of the Propontis, and built by the Milesians. It is mentioned by Ovid.

The people of this place were remarkable for their effeminacy and cowardice, whence tinctura Cyzicena became proverbial for any dastardly character. It has now become a peninsula, by the filling up of the small channel by which it was divided from the continent.

that he was of one of the best families of his country, and that he died in the workshop of a fuller, into which he had accidentally gone. The fuller immediately secured his shop, and went to inform the relations of the deceased of what had happened. The report having circulated through the city that Aristeas was dead, there came a man of Cyzicus, of the city of Artaces, who affirmed that this assertion was false, for that he had met Aristeas going to Cyzicus,[1] and had spoken with him. In consequence of his positive assertions the friends of Aristeas hastened to the fuller's shop; with every thing which was necessary for his funeral, but when they came there no Aristeas was to be found, alive or dead. Seven years afterwards it is said that he re-appeared at Proconnesus, and composed those verses which the Greeks call Arimaspian, after which he vanished a second time.

XV. This is the manner in which these cities speak of Aristeas: but I am about to relate a circumstance which to my own knowlege happened to the Metapontines of Italy, three hundred and forty years after Aristeas had a second time disappeared, according to my conjecture, as it agrees with what I heard at Proconnesus and Metapontus. The inhabitants of this latter place affirm, that Aristeas having appeared in their city, directed them to construct an altar to Apollo, and near it a statue to Aristeas of Proconnesus. He told them that they were the only people of Italy whom Apollo had ever honored by his presence,

1 On this story Larcher remarks that there are innumerable others like it, both among the ancients and moderns. A very ridiculous one is related by Plutarch in his life of Romulus:—A man named Cleomedes, seeing himself pursued, jumped into a great chest, which closed on him; after many ineffectual *attempts to open it,* they broke it in pieces, but no *Cleomedes was to be found,* alive or dead.

and that he himself had attended the god under the form of a crow:[1] having said this he disappeared. The Metapontines relate, that in consequence of this they sent to Delphi to inquire what that unnatural appearance might mean: the Pythian told them in reply, to perform what had been directed, for that they would find their obedience rewarded; they obeyed accordingly, and there now stands, near the statue of Apollo himself, another bearing the name of Aristeas; it is placed in the public square of the city, surrounded with laurels.

XVI. Thus much of Aristeas.—No certain knowlege is to be obtained of the places which lie remotely beyond the country of which I before spoke: on this subject I could not meet with any person able to speak from his own knowlege. Aristeas above mentioned confesses, in the poem which he wrote, that he did not penetrate beyond the Issedones; and that what he related of the countries more remote he learned of the Issedones themselves. For my own part, all the intelligence which the most assiduous researches and the greatest attention to authenticity have been able to procure shall be faithfully related.

XVII. As we advance from the port of the Borysthenites, which is unquestionably the centre of all the maritime parts of Scythia, the first people who are met with are the Callipidæ, who are Greek Scythians: beyond these is another nation, called the Halizones. These two people in general observe the customs of the Scythians, except that for food they sow corn, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. Beyond the Halizones dwell some Scythian husbandmen, who sow

1 Pliny relates this somewhat differently. He says it was *the soul of Aristeas*, which having left his body, appeared in *the form of a crow*.—*Larcher*.

corn, not to eat, but for sale. Still more remote are the Neuri, whose country towards the north, as far as I have been able to learn, is totally uninhabited. All these nations dwell near the river Hypanis, to the west of the Borysthenes.

XVIII. Having crossed the Borysthenes, the first country towards the sea is Hylæa, contiguous to which are some Scythian husbandmen, who call themselves Olbiopolitæ, but who, by the Greeks living near the Hypanis, are called Borysthenites. The country possessed by these Scythians towards the east is the space of a three days' journey as far as the river Panticapes; to the north their lands extend to the amount of an eleven days' voyage along the Borysthenes. The space beyond this is a vast inhospitable desert; and remoter still are the Androphagi, or men-eaters, a separate nation, and by no means Scythian. As we pass farther from these, the country is altogether desert, not containing, to our knowlege, any inhabitants.

XIX. To the east of these Scythians, who are husbandmen, and beyond the river Panticapes, are the Scythian Nomades or shepherds, who are totally unacquainted with agriculture: except Hylæa, all this country is naked of trees. These Nomades inhabit a district to the extent of a fourteen days' journey towards the east, as far as the river Gerrhus.

XX. Beyond the Gerrhus is situate what is termed the royal province of Scythia, possessed by the more numerous part and the noblest of the Scythians, who consider all the rest of their countrymen as their slaves. From the south they extend to Tauris, and from the east as far as the trench which was sunk by the descendants of the blinded slaves, and again as far as the port of the *Palus Mæotis*, called Chemni; and indeed many of them are spread as far as the Tanais. Be-

yond these, to the north, live the Melanchlæni, another nation who are not Scythians. Beyond the Melanchlæni the lands are low and marshy, and, as we believe, intirely uninhabited.

XXI. Beyond the Tanais the region of Scythia terminates; and the first nation we meet with are the Sauromatæ, who, commencing at the remote parts of the Palus Mæotis, inhabit a space to the north equal to a fifteen days' journey; the country is totally destitute of trees, both wild and cultivated. Beyond these are the Budini, who are husbandmen, and in whose country trees are found in great abundance.

XXII. To the north, beyond the Budini, is an immense desert of an eight days' journey; passing which, to the east, are the Thyssagetæ, a singular but populous nation, who support themselves by hunting. Contiguous to these, in the same region, are a people called Iyrcæ; they also live by the chase, which they thus pursue:—having ascended the tops of the trees, which every where abound, they watch for their prey. Each man has a horse instructed to lie close to the ground, that it may not be seen; they have each also a dog. As soon as the man from the tree discovers his game he wounds it with an arrow; then mounting his horse, he pursues it, followed by his dog. Advancing from this people still nearer to the east, we again meet with Scythians, who, having seceded from the royal Scythians, established themselves here.

XXIII. As far as these Scythians the whole country is flat, and the soil excellent; beyond them it becomes barren and stony. After travelling over a considerable space a people are found living at the foot of some lofty mountains; who, both male and female, *are said to be* bald from their birth, having large chins, *and nostrils* like the ape species. They have a lan-

guage of their own, but their dress is Scythian: they live chiefly on the produce of a tree which is called the ponticus; it is as large as a fig, and has a kernel not unlike a bean: when it is ripe they press it through a cloth; it produces a thick black liquor, which they call aschy; this they drink, mixing it with milk; the grosser parts which remain they form into balls and eat. They have but few cattle, from the want of proper pasturage. Each man dwells under his tree; this during the winter they cover with a thick white cloth, which in the summer is removed; they live unmolested by any one, being considered as sacred, and having amongst them no offensive weapon. Their neighbors apply to them for decision in matters of private controversy; and whoever seeks an asylum amongst them is secure from injury. They are called the Argippæi.[1]

XXIV. As far as these people who are bald the knowlege of the country and intermediate nations is clear and satisfactory; it may be obtained from the Scythians, who have frequent communication with them; from the Greeks of the port on the Borysthenes, and from many other places of trade on the Euxine. As these nations have seven different languages, the Scythians who communicate with them have occasion for as many interpreters.

XXV. Beyond these Argippæi no certain intelligence is to be had; a chain of lofty and inaccessible mountains precluding all discovery. The people who are bald assert, what I can by no means believe, that

1 These people are said to have derived their name from the white horses with which their country abounded. The Tartars of the present day are said to hold white horses in great estimation; how much they were esteemed in ancient times appears from various passages of different writers, who believed that they excelled in swiftness all horses of a different color.—*T.*

these mountains are inhabited by men who, in the lower parts, resemble a goat; and that beyond the are a race that sleep away six months of the yea neither does this seem at all more probable. To tl east of the Argippæi it is beyond all doubt that tl country is possessed by the Issedones; but beyor them, to the north, neither the Issedones nor tl Argippæi know any thing more than I have alread related.

XXVI. The Issedones have these, among other cu toms:—as often as any one loses his father his relatio severally provide some cattle; these they kill, an having cut them in pieces, they dismember also tl body of the deceased, and, mixing the whole togethe feast on it; the head alone is preserved; from th they carefully remove the hair, and, cleansing it tho roughly, set it in gold: it is afterwards esteeme sacred, and produced in their solemn annual sacrifice Every man observes the above rites in honor of hi father, as the Greeks do theirs in memory of th dead.[1] In other respects it is said that they venerat

1 The Greeks had anniversary days in remembrance of de parted friends. These were indifferently termed *Νεμεσια* as being solemnised on the festival of Nemesis, *Ωραια*, an *Γενεσια*. This latter word seems to intimate that these wer feasts instituted to commemorate the birthdays; but these i appears were observed by surviving relations and friends o the anniversary of a person's death. Amongst many othe customs which distinguished these *Γενεσια*, some were re markable for their simplicity and elegance. They strewe flowers on the tomb, they encircled it with myrtle, the placed locks of their hair on it, they tenderly invoked th names of those departed, and lastly, they poured sweet oint ments on the grave.

These observances, with little variation, took place both i Greece and Rome.—See the beautiful Ode of Anacreon, thu *rendered* by Cowley:

Why do we precious ointments show'r,
Noble wines why do we pour,

nciples of justice; and that their females have ıuthority with the men.

VII. The Issedones themselves affirm, that the y beyond them is inhabited by a race of men ave but one eye, and by Gryphins, who are ans of the gold. Such is the information which ythians have from the Issedones, and we from ythians: in the Scythian tongue they are called spians, from Arima, the Scythian word for one, u, an eye.

VIII. Through all the region of which we have peaking the winter season, which continues for nonths, is intolerably severe and cold. At this .f water be poured on the ground, unless it be fire, it will not make clay. The sea itself,[1] and Cimmerian Bosphorus, is congealed; and the ans who live within the trench before mentioned hostile incursions on the ice, and penetrate with raggons as far as Sindica. During eight months mate is thus severe, and the remaining four are ntly cold. In this region the winter is by no the same as in other climates; for at this time, it rains abundantly elsewhere, it here scarcely ıt all; whilst in the summer the rains are inces- At the season when thunder is common in other here it is never heard; but during the summer

Beauteous flowers why do we spread
Upon the mon'ments of the dead?
Nothing they but dust can show,
Or bones that hasten to be so;
Crown me with roses whilst I live.—*T.*

e Greeks, who had no knowlege of this country, were ion that the sea could not be congealed; they conse- y considered this passage of Herodotus as fabulous. *oderns, who are better* acquainted with the regions of *th, well know that* Herodotus was right.—Larcher.

it is very heavy. If it be ever known to thunder in the winter it is considered as ominous. If earthquakes happen in Scythia, in either season of the year, it is thought a prodigy. Their horses are able to bear the extremest severity of the climate, which the asses and mules frequently cannot;[1] though in other regions the cold which destroys the former has little effect on the latter.

XXIX. This circumstance of their climate seems to explain the reason why their cattle are without horns;[2] and Homer, in the Odyssey, has a line which confirms my opinion:—'And Libya, where the sheep have always horns;'[3] which is as much as to say, that in warm climates horns will readily grow; but in places which are extremely cold they either will not grow at all, or are always diminutive.

XXX. The peculiarities of Scythia are thus explained from the coldness of the climate; but as I have accustomed myself from the commencement of this history to deviate occasionally from my subject, I cannot here avoid expressing my surprise that the

1 This assertion of Herodotus is confirmed by Pliny. The ass is a native of Arabia; the warmer the climate in which they are produced, the larger and the better they are. 'Their size and their spirit,' says Mr. Pennant, 'regularly decline as they advance into colder regions.' Holinshed says that in his time 'our lande did yeelde no asses.' At present they appear to be naturalised in our country; and M. Larcher's observation, that they are not common in England, must have arisen from misinformation. That the English breed of asses is comparatively less beautiful, must be acknowleged.—*T.*

2 Hippocrates, speaking of the Scythian chariots, says they are drawn by oxen which have no horns, and that the cold prevents their having any.—*Larcher.*

3 The line here quoted from Homer is thus rendered by *Pope:*

> And two fair crescents of translucent horn
> The brows of all their young increase adorn.

district of Elis never produces mules; yet the air is by no means cold, nor can any other satisfactory reason be assigned. The inhabitants themselves believe that their not possessing mules is the effect of some curse.

XXXI. Concerning those feathers, which, as the Scythians say, so cloud the atmosphere that they cannot penetrate nor even discern what lies beyond them, my opinion is this:—In those remoter regions there is a perpetual fall of snow, which, as may be supposed, is less in summer than in winter. Whoever observes snow falling continually will easily conceive what I say; for it has a great resemblance to feathers. These regions therefore which are thus situated remotely to the north are uninhabitable from the unremitting severity of the climate; and the Scythians, with the neighboring nations, mistake the snow for feathers.[1]—But on this subject I have said quite enough.

XXXII. Of the Hyperboreans neither the Scythians nor any of the neighboring people, the Issedones alone excepted, have any knowlege; and indeed what they say merits but little attention. The Scythians speak of these as they do of the Arimaspians. It must be confessed that Hesiod mentions these Hyperboreans, as does Homer also in the Epigonoi, if he was really the author of those verses.

XXXIII. On this subject of the Hyperboreans the Delians are more communicative, They affirm that

1 The comparison of falling snow to fleeces of wool as being very obvious and natural, is found in abundance of writers, ancient and modern.

See Psalm cxlvii. ver. 5.—Who sendeth his snow like wool. Martial beautifully calls snow densum tacitarum vellus aquarum.

In whose capacious womb
A *vapory deluge lies* to snow congeal'd;
Heavy they roll their fleecy world along.—Thomson.

some sacred offerings of this people, carefully folde in straw, were given to the Scythians, from whom de scending regularly through every contiguous nation they arrived at length at the Adriatic. From hence transported towards the south, they were first of al received by the Dodoneans of Greece; from them again they were transmitted to the gulf of Melis whence passing into Eubœa, they were sent from on town to another, till they arrived at Carystus; no stopping at Andros, the Carystians carried them t Tenos, the Tenians to Delos; at which place the De lians affirm they came as we have related. They far ther observe, that to bring these offerings the Hyper boreans sent two young women, whose names wer Hyperoche and Laodice: five of their countrymen accompanied them as a guard, who are held in grea veneration at Delos, and called the Peripheres.[1] A these men never returned, the Hyperboreans wer greatly offended, and took the following method t prevent a repetition of this evil:—they carried to thei frontiers their offerings folded in barley-straw, an committing them to the care of their neighbors, di rected them to forward them progressively, till, as i reported, they thus arrived. This singularity observe by the Hyperboreans is practised, as I myself hav seen, amongst the women of Thrace and Pæonia, wh in their sacrifices to the regal Diana make use of bar ley-straw.

XXXIV. In honor of the Hyperborean virgins wh died at Delos, the Delian youth of both sexes cele

1 Those whom the different states of Greece sent to con sult Apollo, or to offer him sacrifice in the name of thei country, they called Theoroi. They gave the name of Delia stoi to those whom they sent to Delos; and of Pythastoi t those who went to Delphi.—Larcher.

brate certain rites, in which they cut off their hair:[1] this ceremony is observed by virgins previous to their marriage, who having deprived themselves of their hair, wind it round a spindle, and place it on the tomb. This stands in the vestibule of the temple of Diana, on the left side of the entrance, and is shaded by an olive, which grows there naturally. The young men of Delos wind some of their hair round a certain herb, and place it on the tomb. Such are the honors which the Delians pay to these virgins.

XXXV. The Delians add, that in the same age, and before the arrival of Hyperoche and Laodice at Delos, two other Hyperborean virgins came there, whose names were Argis and Opis; their object was to bring an offering to Lucina, in acknowlegement of the happy delivery of their females; but that Argis and Opis were accompanied by the deities themselves. They are therefore honored with other solemn rites. The women assemble together, and in a hymn composed for the occasion by Olen of Lycia, they call on the names of Argis and Opis. Instructed by these, the islanders and Ionians hold similar assemblies, introducing the same two names in their hymns. This Olen was a native of Lycia, who composed other ancient hymns in use at Delos. When the thighs of the victims are consumed on the altar the ashes are col-

1 The custom of offering the hair to the gods is of very great antiquity. Sometimes it was deposited in the temples, as in the case of Berenice, who consecrated hers in the temple of Venus; sometimes it was suspended on trees.—*Larcher*.

When the hair was cut off in honor of the dead it was done in a circular form. Allusion is made to this ceremony in the Electra of Sophocles, line 52. See also Ovid.

This custom, by the way, was strictly forbidden by the Jews. Pope has a *very ludicrous* allusion to it:

When fortune or a mistress frowns,
Some plunge in business, others shave their crowns.—T.

lected and scattered over the tomb of Opis and Argis This tomb is behind the temple of Diana, facing the east, and near the place where the Ceians celebrate their festivals.

XXXVI. On this subject of the Hyperboreans we have spoken sufficiently at large, for the story of Abaris, who was said to be an Hyperborean, and to have made a circuit of the earth without food, and carried on an arrow,[1] merits no attention. As there are Hyperboreans, or inhabitants of the extreme parts of the north, one would suppose there ought also to be Hypernotians, or inhabitants of the corresponding parts of the south. For my own part, I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk of the circumference of the earth, pretending, without the smallest reason or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth; that the earth is round, as if mechanically formed so; and that Asia is equal to Europe. I will therefore concisely describe the figure and the size of each of these portions of the earth.

XXXVII. The region occupied by the Persians extends southward to the Red Sea; beyond these to the north are the Medes, next to them are the Sapirians. Contiguous to the Sapirians, and where the Phasis empties itself into the Northern Sea, are the Colchians. These four nations occupy the space between the two seas.

XXXVIII. From hence to the west two tracts of land stretch themselves towards the sea, which I shall

1 There is a fragment preserved in the Anecdota Græca, a translation of which Larcher gives in his notes, which throws much light on this singular passage; it is this: a famine having made its appearance amongst the Hyperboreans, Abaris went to Greece, and entered into the service of Apollo. *The deity* taught him to declare oracles. In consequence of *this he* travelled through Greece, declaring oracles, having *in his hand* an arrow, the symbol of Apollo.

describe: the one on the north side commences at the Phasis, and extends to the sea along the Euxine and the Hellespont, as far as the Sigeum of Troy. On the south side it begins at the Mariandynian bay contiguous to Phœnicia, and is continued to the sea as far as the Triopian promontory; this space of country is inhabited by thirty different nations.

XXXIX. The other district commences in Persia, and is continued to the Red Sea.[1] Besides Persia, it comprehends Assyria and Arabia, naturally terminating in the Arabian Gulf, into which Darius introduced a channel of the Nile. The interval from Persia to Phœnicia is very extensive. From Phœnicia it again continues beyond Syria of Palestine, as far as Egypt, where it terminates. The whole of this region is occupied by three nations only. Such is the division of Asia from Persia westward.

XL. To the east beyond Persia, Media, the Sapirians and Colchians, the country is bounded by the Red Sea; to the north by the Caspian and the river Araxes, which directs its course towards the east. As far as India, Asia is well inhabited; but from India eastward the whole country is one vast desert, unknown and unexplored.

1 It is necessary to be observed that not only the Arabian Gulf was known by this name, but also the Persian Gulf, and the Southern Ocean, that is to say, that vast tract of sea which lies between the two gulfs.—*Larcher.*

What Herodotus calls the Erythrean Sea, he carefully distinguishes from the Arabian Gulf.

Both Herodotus and Agathemnus industriously distinguish the Erythrean Sea from the Arabian Gulf, though the latter was certainly so called, and had the name of Erythrean. The Parthic empire, which included Persis, is by Pliny said to be bounded to the *south by* the Mare Rubrum, which was the *boundary also of the* Persians: by Mare Rubrum he here *means the great southern sea.—Bryant.*

XLI. The second tract comprehends Libya, which begins where Egypt ends. About Egypt the country is very narrow. One hundred thousand orgyiæ, or one thousand stadia, comprehend the space between this and the Red Sea.[1] Here the country expands, and takes the name of Libya.

XLII. I am much surprised at those who have divided and defined the limits of Libya, Asia, and Europe, betwixt which the difference is far from small. Europe, for instance, in length much exceeds the other two, but is of far inferior breadth: except in that particular part which is contiguous to Asia, the whole of Libya is surrounded by the sea. The first person who has proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho king of Egypt. When he had desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, he despatched some vessels,[2]

1 Here we must necessarily understand the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea. Herodotus says, b. II. c. clviii., that the shortest way betwixt one sea and the other was one thousand stadia. Agrippa says, on the authority of Pliny, that from Pelusium to Arsinoë on the Red Sea was one hundred and twenty-five miles, which comes to the same thing, that author always reckoning eight stadia to a mile.—*Larcher*.

2 This Necho is the same who in Scripture is called Pharaoh Necho. He made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but after he had consumed a hundred and twenty thousand men on the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking; for having gotten some of the expertest Phœnician sailors into his service, he sent them out by the Red Sea through the straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa, who having sailed round it, came home the third year through the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of *the loadstone* was not known. This voyage was performed *about two thousand* one hundred years before Vasquez de *Gama, a Portugueze*, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope

nder the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to ass by the Columns of Hercules, and after pene-:ating the Northern Ocean to return to Egypt. These 'hœnicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, ntered into the Southern Ocean: on the approach of utumn they landed in Libya, and planted some corn n the place where they happened to find themselves; rhen this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they gain departed. Having thus consumed two years, hey in the third doubled the Columns of Hercules, nd returned to Egypt. Their relation may obtain ttention from others, but to me it seems incredible;[1] or they affirmed, that having sailed round Libya, they ad the sun on their right hand.—Thus was Libya for he first time known.

XLIII. If the Carthaginian account may be cre-ited, Sataspes, son of Teaspes, of the race of the chæmenides, received a commission to circumnavi-ate Libya, which he never executed: alarmed by the ength of the voyage, and the solitary appearance of he country, he returned without accomplishing the ask enjoined him by his mother. This man had com-nitted violence on a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, son f Megabyzus, for which offence Xerxes had ordered

n 1497, found out the same way from hence to the Indies by rhich these Phœnicians came from thence. Since that it ath been made the common passage thither from all these restern parts of the world.—*Prideaux*.

1 Herodotus does not doubt that the Phœnicians made the ircuit of Africa, and returned to Egypt by the straits of Gibraltar; but he could not believe that in the course of the oyage they had the sun on their right hand. This however nust necessarily have been the case after the Phœnicians ad passed the Line; and this curious circumstance, which ever could have been imagined in an age when astronomy vas yet in its infancy, is an evidence to the truth of a voyage, which without this might have been doubted.—Larcher.

him to be crucified; but the influence of his mother, who was sister to Darius, saved his life. She avowed however that it was her intention to inflict a still severer punishment on him, by obliging him to sail round Africa, till he should arrive at the Arabian Gulf. To this Xerxes assented, and Sataspes accordingly departed for Egypt; he here embarked with his crew, and proceeded to the Columns of Hercules; passing these, he doubled the promontory which is called Syloes, keeping a southern course. Continuing his voyage for several months, in which he passed over an immense tract of sea, he saw no probable termination of his labors, and therefore sailed back to Egypt. Returning to the court of Xerxes, he amongst other things related, that in the most remote places he had visited he had seen a people of diminutive appearance, clothed in red garments, who on the approach of his vessel to the shore, had deserted their habitations, and fled to the mountains. But he affirmed, that his people, satisfied with taking a supply of provisions, offered them no violence. He denied the possibility of his making the circuit of Africa, as his vessel was totally unable to proceed.[1] Xerxes gave no credit to his assertions; and, as he had not fulfilled the terms imposed on him, he was executed according to his former sentence. An eunuch belonging to this Sataspes, hearing of his master's death, fled with a great sum of money to Samos, but he was there robbed of his property by a native of the place, whose name I forbear to mention.

XLIV. Of Asia, a very considerable part was first discovered by Darius. He was very desirous of ascertaining where the Indus meets the ocean, the only

1 *This* was, according to all appearances, the east wind *which impeded* the progress of the vessel, which constantly *blows in that* sea during a certain period.—Larcher.

river but one in which crocodiles are found; to effect this, he sent amongst other men in whom he could confide, Scylax of Caryandia.[1] Departing from Caspatyrus in the Pactyian territories, they followed the eastern course of the river till they came to the sea; then sailing westward, they arrived, after a voyage of thirty months, at the very point from whence, as I have before related, the Egyptian prince despatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Libya. After this voyage Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that ocean: whence it appears that Asia in all its parts, except those more remotely to the east, intirely resembles Libya.

XLV. It is certain that Europe has not been hitherto carefully examined: it is by no means certain whether

1 About this time, Darius being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries, laid a design of first making a discovery of them: for which reason, having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus, a city on the river Indus, and as far on it as the borders of Scythia, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a city in Caria, and one well skilled in maritime affairs, and sent him down the river to make the best discoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side; ordering him for this end to sail down the current till he should arrive at the mouth of the river; and that then passing through it into the Southern Ocean, he should shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea; and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from Caspatyrus landed in Egypt, at the same place from whence Necho king of Egypt formerly sent out his Phœnicians to sail round the coasts of Africa, which it is most likely was the port where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of the said Red Sea.—*Prideaux.*

There were three eminent persons of this place, and of this name:—the one florished under Darius Hystaspes, the second under Darius Nothus, the third lived in the time of Polybius. *This was also the* name of a celebrated river in *Cappadocia.*

to the east and north it is limited by the ocean. In length it unquestionably exceeds the other two divisions of the earth; but I am far from satisfied, why to one continent three different names, taken from women, have been assigned. To one of these divisions some have given as a boundary the Egyptian Nile and the Colchian Phasis; others the Tanais, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis. The names of those who have thus distinguished the earth, or the first occasion of their different appellations, I have never been able to learn. Libya, or Africa, is by many of the Greeks said to have been so named from Libya, a woman of the country; and Asia from the wife of Prometheus. The Lydians contradict this and affirm that Asia[1] was so called from Asias, a son of Cotys, and grandson of Manis, and not from the wife of Prometheus: to confirm this, they adduce the name of a tribe at Sardis, called the Asian tribe. It has certainly never been ascertained whether Europe be surrounded by the ocean: it is a matter of equal uncertainty whence or from whom it derives its name. We cannot willingly allow that it took its name from the Syrian Europa, though we know that, like the other two, it was formerly without any. We are well assured that Europa was an Asiatic, and that she never saw the region which the Greeks now call Europe; she only went from Phœnicia to Crete, from Crete to Lycia. I shall now quit this subject, on which I have given the opinions generally received.

XLVI. Except Scythia, the countries of the Euxine, against which Darius undertook an expedition, are of all others the most barbarous; amongst the people

1 In reading the poets of antiquity, it is necessary carefully to have in mind the distinction of this division of the earth into Asia Major and Minor.—T.

ho dwell within these limits we have found no indi-dual of superior learning and accomplishments but nacharsis[1] the Scythian. Even of the Scythian na-on I cannot in general speak with extraordinary mmendation; they have however one observance, iich for its wisdom excels every thing I have met th. The possibility of escape is cut off from those io attack them; and if they are averse to be seen, eir places of retreat can never be discovered: for ey have no towns nor fortified cities; their habitations ey constantly carry along with them; their bows and rows they manage on horseback; and they support emselves not by agriculture, but by their cattle;[2]

1 Of Anacharsis the life is given at some length by Dio-nes Laertius; his moral character was of such high estima-n, that Cicero does not scruple to call him sobrius, continens, stinens, et temperans. He gave rise to the proverb appli-ole to men of extraordinary endowments, of Anacharsis er Scythas: he florished in the time of Solon. The idea his superior wisdom and desire of learning has given rise an excellent modern work by the Abbé Barthelemy, called Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. With respect to what rodotus here says concerning Anacharsis, he seemingly ntradicts himself in chap. xciv, xcv. of this book, where he nfesses his belief that Zamolxis, the supposed deity of the ythians, was a man eminent for virtue and wisdom.

Dicenus also was a wise and learned Scythian; and one of most beautiful and interesting of Lucian's works is named m a celebrated Scythian physician called Toxaris.

It must be remembered, that subsequent to the Christian , many exalted and accomplished characters were pro-ced from the Scythians or Goths.—*T.*

2 'The skilful practitioners of the medical art,' says Mr. bbon, 'may determine, if they are able to determine, how the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common as-iation of carnivorous and cruel deserves to be considered any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salu-y *prejudice of humanity*. Yet if it be true that the senti-

their constant abode may be said to be in their waggons. How can a people so circumstanced afford the means of victory, or even of attack?

XLVII. Their particular mode of life may be imputed partly to the situation of their country, and the advantage they derive from their rivers; their lands are well watered, and well adapted for pasturage. The number of the rivers is almost equal to the channels of the Nile; the more celebrated of them, and those which are navigable to the sea, I shall enumerate; they are these:—the Danube, having five mouths, the Tyres, the Hypanis, the Borysthenes, Panticapes, Hypacyris, Gerrhus, and the Tanais.

XLVIII. No river of which we have any knowlege is so vast as the Danube; it is always of the same depth, experiencing no variation from summer or from winter. It is the first river of Scythia to the east, and it is the greatest of all, for it is swelled by the influx of many others: there are five which particularly contribute to increase its size; one of these the Greeks call Pyreton, the Scythians Porata; the other four are the Tiarantus, Ararus, Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first of these rivers is of immense size; flowing towards the east, it mixes with the Danube: the second, the Tiarantus, is smaller, having an inclination to the west: betwixt these the Ararus,

ment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox or the sheep are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served with very little preparation at the table of their unfeeling murderer.'

aparis, and Ordessus, have their course, and empty emselves into the Danube. These rivers have their se in Scythia, and swell the waters of the Danube.[1]

XLIX. The Maris also, commencing among the gathyrsi, is emptied into the Danube, which is likeise the case with the three great rivers, Atlas, Auras, id Tibisis: these flow from the summit of Mount æmus, and have the same termination. Into the me river are received the waters of the Athres, oes, and Artanes, which flow through Thrace and ie country of the Thracian Crobyzi. The Cius, hich, rising in Pæonia, near Mount Rhodope, divides Iount Hæmus, is also poured into the Danube. The ngrus comes from Illyria, and with a northward ourse passes over the Tribalian plains, and mixes ith the Brongus; the Brongus meets the Danube, hich thus receives the waters of these two great vers. The Carpis, moreover, which rises in the ountry beyond the Umbrici, and the Alpis, which ows towards the north, are both lost in the Danube. ommencing with the Celtæ, who, except the Cynetæ, re the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe, iis river passes directly through the centre of Europe, nd by a certain inclination enters Scythia.

L. By the union of these and of many other waters he Danube becomes the greatest of all rivers; but if ne be compared with another, the preference must be iven to the Nile, into which no stream nor fountain nters. The reason why in the two opposite seasons

1 Mr. Bryant's observations on this river are too curious to e omitted.

The river Danube was properly the river of Noah, exressed Da-Nau, Da-Nauos, Da-Nauvas, Da-Naubus. Heodotus plainly calls it the river of Noah, without the prefix; ut appropriates *the name* only to one branch, giving the *ame of Ister to the chief* stream.

of the year the Danube is uniformly the same, seems to me to be this: in the winter it is at its full natural height, or perhaps somewhat more, at which season there is, in the regions through which it passes, abundance of snow, but very little rain: but in the summer all this snow is dissolved, and emptied into the Danube, which together with frequent and heavy rains greatly augment it. But in proportion as the body of its waters is thus multiplied, are the exhalations of the summer sun. The result of this action and reaction on the Danube is, that its waters are constantly of the same depth.

LI. Thus, of the rivers which flow through Scythia, the Danube is the first; next to this is the Tyres, which rising in the north from an immense marsh, divides Scythia from Neuris. At the mouth of this river those Greeks live who are known by the name of the Tyritæ.

LII. The third is the Hypanis: this comes from Scythia, rising from an immense lake, round which are found wild white horses, and which is properly enough called the mother of the Hypanis. This river, through a space of five days' journey from its first rise, is small, and its waters are sweet, but from thence to the sea, which is a journey of four days more, it becomes exceedingly bitter. This is occasioned by a small fountain which it receives in its passage, and which is of so very bitter a quality, that it infects this river, though by no means contemptible in point of size: this fountain rises in the country of the ploughing Scythians,[1] and of the Alazones. It takes the name of the place where it springs, which in the Scy-

[1] *The reader is desired to correct* Scythian husbandmen *for the ploughing* Scythians, chap. xvii. of this book.

thian tongue is Exampæus, corresponding in Greek to the 'Sacred Ways.' In the district of the Alazones, the streams of the Tyres and the Hypanis have an inclination towards each other, but they soon separate again to a considerable distance.

LIII. The fourth river, and the largest next to the Danube, is the Borysthenes.[1] In my opinion this river is more productive, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other in the world, except the Egyptian Nile. The Nile, it must be confessed, disdains all comparison; the Borysthenes nevertheless affords most agreeable and excellent pasturage, and contains great abundance of the more delicate fish. Although it flows in the midst of many turbid rivers, its waters are perfectly clear and sweet; its banks are adorned by the richest harvests, and in those places where corn is not sown, the grass grows to a surprising height; at its mouth a large mass of salt is formed of itself. It produces also a species of large fish, which is called the antacæus; these, which have no prickly fins, the inhabitants salt: it possesses various other things which deserve our admiration. The course of the stream may be pursued as far as the country called Gerrhus, through a voyage of forty days, and it is known to flow from the north. But of the remoter places through which it passes no one can speak with certainty; it seems probable that it runs towards the district of the Scythian husbandmen, through a pathless desert. For the space of a ten days' journey, these Scythians inhabit its banks. The sources of this river

1 The Emperor Hadrian had a famous horse, to which he gave this name; when the horse died, his master, not satisfied with erecting a superb monument to his memory, inscribed to him some elegant verses, which are still in being. —*T.*

only, like those of the Nile, are to me unknown, as I believe they are to every other Greek. This river as it approaches the sea, is joined by the Hypanis, and they have both the same termination: the neck of land betwixt these streams is called the Hippoleon promontory, in which a temple is erected to Ceres. Beyond this temple as far as the Hypanis dwell the Borysthenites. But on this subject enough has been said.

LIV. Next to the above, is a fifth river, called the Panticapes; this also rises in the north, and from a lake. The interval betwixt this and the Borysthenes is possessed by the Scythian husbandmen. Having passed through Hylæa, the Panticapes mixes with the Borysthenes.

LV. The sixth river is called the Hypacyris: this, rising from a lake, and passing through the midst of the Scythian Nomades, empties itself into the sea near the town of Carcinitis. In its course it bounds to the right Hylæa, and what is called the course of Achilles.

LVI. The name of the seventh river is the Gerrhus; it takes its name from the place Gerrhus, near which it separates itself from the Borysthenes, and where this latter river is first known. In its passage towards the sea it divides the Scythian Nomades from the Royal Scythians, and then mixes with the Hypacyris.

LVII. The eighth river is called the Tanais; rising from one immense lake, it empties itself into another still greater, named the Mæotis, which separates the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatæ. The Tanais is increased by the waters of another river, called the Hyrgis.

LVIII. Thus the Scythians have the advantage of *all these* celebrated rivers. The grass which this

ountry produces is of all that we know the fullest of noisture, which evidently appears from the dissection f their cattle.

LIX. We have shown that this people possess the reatest abundance: their particular laws and obser-ations are these:—of their divinities,[1] Vesta is with-ut competition the first, then Jupiter, and Tellus, whom they believe to be the wife of Jupiter; next to hese are Apollo, the Celestial Venus, Hercules, and Mars. All the Scythians revere these as deities, but he royal Scythians pay divine rites also to Neptune. n the Scythian tongue Vesta is called Tabiti; Jupiter, nd, as I think very properly, Papæus; Tellus, Apia; Apollo, Œtosyrus; the Celestial Venus, Artimpasa; nd Neptune, Thamimasadas. Among all these dei-ies, Mars is the only one to whom they think it pro-er to erect altars, shrines, and temples.

LX. Their mode of sacrifice in every place ap-ointed for the purpose is precisely the same: it is his:—the victim is secured with a rope by its two ore-feet; the person who offers the sacrifice, standing ehind, throws the animal down by means of this ope: as it falls he invokes the name of the divinity o whom the sacrifice is offered; he then fastens a cord ound the neck of the victim, and strangles it, by winding the cord round a stick: all this is done with-ut fire, without libations, or without any of the cere-nonies in use amongst us. When the beast is stran-

1 It is not unworthy the attention of the English reader hat Herodotus is the first author who makes any mention of he religion of the Scythians. In most writings on the sub-ect of ancient mythology Vesta is placed next to Juno, whose sister she was generally supposed to be: Montfaucon lso remarks, that the figures which remain of Vesta have a great resemblance to those of Juno.

gled the sacrificer takes off its skin, and prepares dress it.

LXI. As Scythia is very barren of wood they ha the following contrivance to dress the flesh of the vi tim:—having flayed the animal, they strip the fle from the bones, and if they have them at hand, th throw it into certain pots made in Scythia, a resembling the Lesbian caldrons, though somewh larger; under these a fire is made with the bones. these pots cannot be procured they inclose the fle with a certain quantity of water in the paunch of t victim, and make a fire with the bones as before. Tl bones being very inflammable, and the paunch witho difficulty made to contain the flesh separated from t bone, the ox is thus made to dress itself, which is al the case with the other victims. When the whole ready he who sacrifices throws with some solemnit before him the entrails, and the more choice pieces.- They sacrifice different animals, but horses in part cular.

LXII. Such are the sacrifices and ceremonies ol served with respect to their other deities; but to t god Mars the particular rites which are paid a these: in every district they construct a temple to th divinity of this kind; bundles of small wood a heaped together, to the length of three stadia, an quite as broad, but not so high; the top is a regul square; three of the sides are steep and broken, b the fourth is an inclined plane forming the ascent. T this place are every year brought one hundred an fifty waggons full of these bundles of wood, to repa the structure, which the severity of the climate is a to destroy. On the summit of such a pile each Scy*thian tribe* places an ancient cimeter,[1] which is con

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behind the ears, then taking hold of the hea
top, they gradually flay it, drawing it towar
They next soften it in their hands, removir
fleshy part which may remain, by rubbing it
ox's hide; they afterwards suspend it, thus p
from the bridle of their horses, when they bo
as a napkin, and are proud of it as a trophy.
ever possesses the greater number of these is
the most illustrious. Some there are who s
ther several of these portions of human sk
convert them into a kind of shepherd's garmen
are others who preserve the skins of the rig
nails and all, of such enemies as they kill,
them as a covering for their quivers. The hun
is of all others certainly the whitest, and o
firm texture; many Scythians will take the wh
of a man, and having stretched it on wood, us
covering to their horses.

LXV. Such are the customs of this peop
treatment however of their enemies' heads is
versal; it is only perpetrated on those whom th
detest. They cut off the skull below the ey
and having cleansed it thoroughly, if they a

The following war-song, from Bossu's Travels throu
siana, places the resemblance in a striking point of
'I go to war to revenge the death of my brothers
kill—I shall exterminate—I shall burn my enemies
bring away slaves—I shall devour their hearts,
flesh, drink their blood—I shall tear off their sc
make cups of their skulls.'

The quickness and dexterity with which the Indian
the horrid operation of scalping is too well known t
any description. This coincidence of manners is very
and serves greatly to corroborate the hypothesis, th
rica was peopled originally from the northern parts
continent.—T.

they merely cover it with a piece of leather; if they are rich, in addition to this they decorate the inside with gold; it is afterwards used as a drinking cup. They do the same with respect to their nearest connexions, if any dissensions have arisen, and they overcome them in combat before the king. If any stranger whom they deem of consequence happen to visit them, they make a display of these heads,[1] and relate every circumstance of the previous connexion, the provocations received, and their subsequent victory: this they consider as a testimony of their valor.

LXVI. Once a year the prince or ruler of every district mixes a goblet of wine, of which those Scythians drink[2] who have destroyed a public enemy. But of

1 Many instances may be adduced, from the Roman and Greek historians, of the heads of enemies vanquished in battle being carried in triumph, or exposed as trophies; examples also occur in Scripture of the same custom. Thus David carried the Philistine's head in triumph; the head of Ishbosheth was brought to David as a trophy: why did Jael *smite off* the head of Sisera, but to present it triumphantly to Barak? It is at the present day practised in the East, many examples of which occur in Niebuhr's Letters. This is too well known to require farther discussion; but many readers may perhaps want to be informed that it was also usual to cut off the hands and feet of vanquished enemies.—The hands and feet of the sons of Rimmon, who slew Ishbosheth, were cut off and hanged up over the pool of Hebron.—See also *Lady Wortley Montague*, vol. ii. p. 19.

'If a minister displeases the people, in three hours' time he is dragged even from his master's arms: they cut off his hands, head, and feet, and throw them before the palace gate with all the respect in the world; while the sultan, to whom they all profess unlimited adoration, sits trembling in his apartment.'—*T*.

2 These, with many other customs of the ancient Scythians, will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader various circumstances of the Gothic mythology, as represented in the poems imputed to Ossian, and as may be seen described at length in *Mallet's Introduction* to the History of Denmark. *To sit in the Hall of Odin*, and quaff the flowing goblets of

this, they who have not done such a thing are not permitted to taste; these are obliged to sit apart by themselves, which is considered as a mark of the greatest ignominy. They who have killed a number of enemies are permitted on this occasion to drink from two cups joined together.

LXVII. They have amongst them a great number who practise the art of divination; for this purpose they use a number of willow twigs,[1] in this manner:—they bring large bundles of these together, and having untied them, dispose them one by one on the ground, each bundle at a distance from the rest. This done, they pretend to foretel the future, during which they take up the bundles separately, and tie them again together. This mode of divination is hereditary amongst them. The enaries, or 'effeminate men,' affirm that the art of divination[2] was taught them by the goddess Venus. They take also the leaves of

mead and ale, was an idea ever present to the minds of the Gothic warriors; and the hope of attaining this glorious distinction inspired a contempt of danger, and the most daring and invincible courage.—See Gray's Descent of Odin.

1 There is an animated fragment of Ennius remaining, in which he expresses a most cordial contempt for all soothsayers.

A similar contempt for diviners is expressed by Jocasta in the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, of which the following is a translation:

> Let not fear perplex thee, Œdipus;
> Mortals know nothing of futurity,
> And these prophetic seers are all impostors.—*T.*

2 To enumerate the various modes of divination which have at different times been practised by the ignorant and superstitious, would be no easy task. We read of hydromancy, libanomancy, onyctomancy, divinations by earth, fire, and air: we read in Ezekiel of divination by a rod or wand. To some such mode of divination, in all probability, the following passage from Hosea alludes: 'My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them.'

the lime-tree, which dividing into three parts, they twine round their fingers; they then unbind it, and exercise the art to which they pretend.

LXVIII. Whenever the Scythian monarch happens to be indisposed he sends for three of the most celebrated of these diviners. When the Scythians desire to use the most solemn kind of oath, they swear by the king's throne: these diviners therefore make no scruple of affirming that such or such individual, pointing him out by name, has forsworn himself by the royal throne. Immediately, the person thus marked out is seized, and informed that by their art of divination, which is infallible, he has been indirectly the occasion of the king's illness, by having violated the oath which we have mentioned. If the accused not only denies the charge, but expresses himself enraged at the imputation, the king convokes a double number of diviners, who, examining into the mode which has been pursued in criminating him, decide accordingly If he be found guilty he immediately loses his head, and the three diviners who were first consulted share his effects. If these last diviners acquit the accused, others are at hand, of whom, if the greater number absolve him, the first diviners are put to death.

LXIX. The manner in which they are executed is this:—some oxen are yoked to a waggon filled with faggots, in the midst of which, with their feet tied, their hands fastened behind, and their mouths gagged, these diviners are placed; fire is then set to the wood, and the oxen are terrified, to make them run violently away. It sometimes happens that the oxen themselves are burned; and often when the waggon is consumed the oxen escape severely scorched. This is the method by which, for the above-mentioned or similar

offences, they put to death those whom they call false diviners.

LXX. Of those whom the king condemns to death, he constantly destroys the male children, leaving the females unmolested. Whenever the Scythians form alliances they observe these ceremonies:—a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties, obtained by a slight incision of a knife or a sword; in this cup they dip a cimeter, some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After this they pronounce some solemn prayers; and the parties who form the contract, with such of their friends as are of superior dignity, finally drink the contents of the vessel.

LXXI. The sepulchres of the kings are in the district of the Gerrhi. As soon as the king dies a large trench of a quadrangular form is sunk, near where the Borysthenes begins to be navigable. When this has been done the body is inclosed in wax, after it has been thoroughly cleansed, and the entrails taken out; before it is sown up they fill it with anise, parsley-seed, bruised cypress, and various aromatics. They then place it on a carriage, and remove it to another district, where the persons who receive it, like the royal Scythians, cut off a part of their ear, shave their heads in a circular form, take a round piece of flesh from their arm, wound their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. The body is again carried to another province of the deceased king's realms, the inhabitants of the former district accompanying the procession. After thus transporting the dead body through the different provinces of the kingdom they come at last to the Gerrhi, who live in the *remotest* parts of Scythia, and amongst whom the

sepulchres are. Here the corpse is placed on a couch, round which, at different distances daggers are fixed; on the whole are disposed pieces of wood, covered with branches of willow. In some other part of this trench they bury one of the deceased's concubines, whom they previously strangle, together with the baker, the cook, the groom, his most confidential servant, his horses, the choicest of his effects, and, finally, some golden goblets; for they possess neither silver nor brass: to conclude all, they fill up the trench with earth, and seem to be emulous in their endeavors to raise as high a mound as possible.

LXXII. The ceremony does not here terminate.—They select such of the deceased king's attendants, in the following year, as have been most about his person; these are all native Scythians, for in Scythia there are no purchased slaves, the king selecting such to attend him as he thinks proper: fifty of these they strangle,[1]

1 Voltaire supposes that they impaled alive the favorite officers of the khan of the Scythians round the dead body; whereas Herodotus expressly says that they strangled them first.—*Larcher*.

Whoever has occasion minutely to examine any of the more ancient authors will frequently feel his contempt excited, or his indignation provoked, from finding a multitude of passages ignorantly misunderstood, or wilfully perverted. This remark is in a particular manner applicable to M. Voltaire, in whose work false and partial quotations, with ignorant misconceptions of the ancients, obviously abound. The learned Pauw cannot in this respect be intirely exculpated; and I have a passage now before me in which the fault I would reprobate is eminently conspicuous.—Speaking of the Chinese laws, he says, 'they punish the relations of a criminal convicted of a capital offence with death, excepting the females, *whom they sell as slaves*, following in this respect the maxim of the Scythians, recorded by Herodotus.' On the contrary, our historian says, chap. lxx., that the females are not molested. A similar remark, as it respects M. Pauw, is *somewhere made by* Larcher.—*T.*

with an equal number of his best horses. Of all these they open and cleanse the bodies, which having filled with straw, they sew up again: then on two pieces of wood they place a third, of a semicircular form, with its concave side uppermost; a second is disposed in like manner; then a third; and so on, till a sufficient number have been erected. On these semicircular pieces of wood they place the horses, after passing large poles through them, from the feet to the neck. One part of the structure, formed as we have described, supports the shoulders of the horse, the other his hinder parts, whilst the legs are left to project upwards. The horses are then bridled, and the reins fastened to the legs; on each of these they afterwards place one of the youths who have been strangled, in the following manner: a pole is passed through each, quite to the neck, through the back; the extremity of which is fixed to the piece of timber with which the horse has been spitted; having done this with each, they so leave them.

LXXIII. The above are the ceremonies observed in the interment of their kings: as to the people in general, when any one dies, the neighbors place the body on a carriage, and carry it about to the different acquaintance of the deceased; these prepare some entertainment for those who accompany the corpse, placing before the body the same as before the rest. Private persons, after being thus carried about for the space of forty days, are then buried.[1] They who have

1 The Scythians did not all of them observe the same customs with respect to their funerals: there were some who suspended the dead bodies from a tree, and in that state left them to putrefy. 'Of what consequence,' says Plutarch, 'is *it to Theodorus*, whether he rots in the earth, or on it?—*Such with* the Scythians is the most honorable funeral.'

It is not perhaps without its use to observe that barbarous

been engaged in the performance of these rites afterwards use the following mode of purgation:—after thoroughly washing the head, and afterwards drying it, they do thus with regard to the body: they place in the ground three stakes, inclining towards each other; round these they bind fleeces of wool as thickly as possible; and finally, into the space betwixt the stakes they throw red-hot stones.

LXXIV. They have amongst them a species of hemp resembling flax, except that it is both thicker and larger; it is indeed superior to flax, whether it is cultivated or grows spontaneously. Of this the Thracians[1] make themselves garments, which so nearly resemble those of flax, as to require a skilful eye to distinguish them: they who had never seen this hemp would conclude these vests to be made of flax.

LXXV. The Scythians take the seed of this hemp, and placing it beneath the woollen fleeces which we have before described, they throw it on the red-hot stones, when immediately a perfumed vapor[2] ascends

nations have customs barbarous like themselves, and that these customs much resemble each other in nations which have no communication. Captain Cook relates that in Otaheite they leave dead bodies to putrefy on the surface of the ground, till the flesh is intirely wasted; they then bury the bones.—*Larcher.* See *Hawksworth's Voyages.*

1 Hesychius says that the Thracian women make themselves garments of hemp:—'Hemp is a plant which has some resemblance to flax, and of which the Thracian women make themselves vests.'—*T.*

2 As the story of the magic powers imputed to Medea seems in this place particularly applicable, I translate, for the benefit of the reader, what Palæphatus says on the subject.

Concerning Medea, who was said, by the process of boiling, to make old men young again, the matter was this: she first of all discovered a flower which could make the color of the hair black or white; such therefore as wished to have black hair rather than white, by her means obtained their wish. Having also invented baths, she nourished with warm

stronger than from any Grecian stove. This to the Scythians is in the place of a bath, and it excites from them cries of exultation. It is to be observed that they never bathe themselves: the Scythian women bruise under a stone some wood of the cypress, cedar, and frankincense; on this they pour a quantity of water till it becomes of a certain consistency, with which they anoint the body[1] and the face: this at the time imparts an agreeable odor, and when removed on the following day gives the skin a soft and beautiful appearance.

vapors those who wished it, but not in public, that the professors of the medical art might not know her secret. The name of this application was 'the boiling.' When therefore by these fomentations men became more active, and improved in health, and her apparatus, namely, the caldron, wood, and fire, was discovered, it was supposed that her patients were in reality boiled. Pelias, an old and infirm man, using this operation, died in the process.—*T.*

1 When we read in this place of the custom of anointing the body amongst an uncivilised race, in a cold climate, and afterwards find that in warmer regions it became an indispensable article of luxury and elegance with the politest nations, we pause to admire the caprice and versatility of the human mind. The motive of the Scythians was at first perhaps only to obtain agility of body, without any views to cleanliness, or thoughts of sensuality. In hot climates, fragrant oils were probably first used to disperse those fœtid smells which heat has a tendency to generate; precious ointments therefore soon became essential to the enjoyment of life; and that they really were so, may be easily made appear from all the best writers of antiquity.—See Anacreon, Ode xv. thus translated:

Let my hair with unguents flow,
With rosy garlands crown my brow.

The same fact also appears from the sacred Scriptures: see the threat of the prophet Micah: 'Thou shalt tread the olive, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil.'—These instances are only adduced to prove that fragrant oils were used in private life for the purposes of elegant luxury; how they were applied in athletic exercises, and always before the bath, is sufficiently notorious.—*T.*

LXXVI. The Scythians have not only a great abhorrence of all foreign customs, but each province seems unalterably tenacious of its own. Those of the Greeks they particularly avoid, as appears both from Anacharsis and Scyles. Of Anacharsis it is remarkable, that having personally visited a large part of the habitable world, and acquired great wisdom, he at length returned to Scythia. In his passage over the Hellespont he touched at Cyzicus,[1] at the very time when the inhabitants were celebrating a solemn and magnificent festival to the mother of the gods. He made a vow, that if he should return safe and without injury to his country, he would institute in honor of this deity the same rites he had seen performed at Cyzicus, together with the solemnities observed on the eve of her festival.[2] Arriving therefore in Scythia, in the district of Hylæa, near the Course of Achilles, a place abounding with trees, he performed all the particulars of the above-mentioned ceremonies, having a number of small statues fastened about him, with a cymbal in his hand. In this situation he was observed by one of the natives, who gave intelligence of what he had seen to Saulius, the Scythian king. The king went instantly to the place, and seeing Anacharsis so employed, killed him with an arrow. If any one now make inquiries concerning this Anacharsis, the Scythians disclaim all knowlege of him, merely because he visited Greece, and had learned some foreign cus-

1 An account of the ruins of this place may be found in Pococke. It now produces a quantity of rich wine in great repute at Constantinople.—*T.*

2 These festivals probably commenced early on the evening before the day appointed for their celebration; and it seems probable that *they passed the night in singing hymns in honor of the god or goddess to whom the feast was instituted.—Larcher.*

toms: but as I have been informed by Timnes, the tutor of Spargapithes, Anacharsis was the uncle of Idanthyrsus, a Scythian king, and that he was the son of Gnurus, grandson of Lycus, and great-grandson of Spargapithes. If therefore this genealogy be true, it appears that Anacharsis was killed by his own brother; for Saulius, who killed Anacharsis, was the father of Idanthyrsus.

LXXVII. It is proper to acknowlege that from the Peloponnesians I have received a very different account: they affirm that Anacharsis was sent by the Scythian monarch to Greece for the express purpose of improving himself in science; and they add, that at his return he informed his employer that all the people of Greece were occupied in scientific pursuits, except the Lacedæmonians; but they alone endeavored to perfect themselves in discreet and wise conversation. This however is a tale of Grecian invention. I am convinced that Anacharsis was killed in the manner which has been described, and that he owed his destruction to the practice of foreign customs and Grecian manners.

LXXVIII. Not many years afterwards Scyles, the son of Aripithes, experienced a similar fortune. Aripithes, king of Scythia, amongst many other children, had this son Scyles by a woman of Istria, who taught him the language and sciences of Greece. It happened that Aripithes was treasonably put to death by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi. He was succeeded in his dominions by this Scyles, who married one of his father's wives, whose name was Opæa. Opæa was a native of Scythia, and had a son named Oricus by her former husband. When Scyles ascended the Scythian throne he was exceedingly averse to the manners of his country, and very partial to those of Greece; to

which he had been accustomed from his childhood. As often therefore as he conducted the Scythian forces to the city of the Borysthenites, who affirm that they are descended from the Milesians, he left his army before the town, and entering into the place, secured the gates. He then threw aside his Scythian dress, and assumed the habit of Greece. In this, without guards or attendants, it was his custom to parade through the public square, having the caution to place guards at the gates, that no one of his countrymen might discover him. He not only thus showed his partiality to the customs of Greece, but he also sacrificed to the gods in the Grecian manner. After continuing in the city for the space of a month, and sometimes for more, he would resume his Scythian dress and depart. This he frequently repeated, having built a palace in this town, and married an inhabitant of the place.

LXXIX. It seemed however ordained that his end should be unfortunate, which accordingly happened. It was his desire to be initiated into the mysteries of Bacchus; and he was already about to take some of the sacred utensils in his hands, when the following prodigy appeared to him. I have before mentioned the palace which he had in the city of the Borysthenites; it was a very large and magnificent structure, and the front of it was decorated with sphinxes and griffins of white marble: the lightning[1] of heaven descended on it, and it was totally consumed. Scyles

1 The ancients believed that lightning never fell but by the immediate interposition of the gods; and whatever thing or place was struck by it was ever after deemed sacred, and supposed to have been consecrated by the deity to himself. There were at Rome certain books expressly treating on this subject.

nevertheless persevered in what he had undertake The Scythians reproach the Greeks on account of the Bacchanalian festivals, and assert it to be contrary reason to suppose that any deity should prompt m to acts of madness. When the initiation of Scyl was completed, one of the Borysthenites discovered the Scythians what he had done:—'You Scythians said he, 'censure us on account of our Bacchanali rites, when we yield to the impulse of the deity. Th same deity has taken possession of your sovereign; l is now obedient in his service, and under the influen of his power. If ye disbelieve my words, you hav only to follow me, and have ocular proof that what say is true.' The principal Scythians accordingly fo lowed him, and by a secret avenue were by him con ducted to the citadel. When they beheld Scyles ap proach with his thiasus, and in every other respe acting the Bacchanal, they deemed the matter of mo calamitous importance; and returning, informed th army of all they had seen.

LXXX. As soon as Scyles returned an insurrectio was excited against him; and his brother Octomasade whose mother was the daughter of Tereus, was pro moted to the throne. Scyles having learned the par ticulars and the motives of this revolt, fled into Thrace against which place, as soon as he was informed c this event, Octomasades advanced with an army. Th Thracians met him at the Ister; when they were o the point of engaging Sitalces sent a herald to Octo masades with this message: 'A contest betwixt u would be absurd, for you are the son of my sister My brother is in your power: if you will deliver him to me I will give up Scyles to you; thus we shal *mutually* avoid all danger.' As the brother of Sitalce had taken refuge with Octomasades, the above over

tures effected a peace. The Scythian king surrendered up his uncle, and received the person of his brother. Sitalces immediately withdrew his army, taking with him his brother; but on that very day Octomasades deprived Scyles of his head. Thus tenacious are the Scythians of their national customs, and such is the fate of those who endeavor to introduce foreign ceremonies amongst them.

LXXXI. On the populousness of Scythia I am not able to speak with decision; they have been represented to me by some as a numerous people, whilst others have informed me that of real Scythians there are but few. I shall relate, however, what has fallen within my own observation. Betwixt the Borysthenes and the Hypanis there is a place called Exampæus: to this I have before made some allusion, when speaking of a fountain which it contained, whose waters were so exceedingly bitter as to render the Hypanis, into which it flows, perfectly impalatable. In this place is a vessel of brass, six times larger than that which is to be seen in the entrance of Pontus, consecrated there by Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus. For the benefit of those who may not have seen it I shall here describe it. This vessel, which is in Scythia, is of the thickness of six digits, and capable of containing six hundred amphoræ. The natives say that it was made of the points of arrows; for that Ariantas,[1] one of their kings, being desirous to ascertain the number of the Scythians, commanded each of

1 I have now a remarkable instance before me, how dangerous it is to take on trust what many learned men put down on the authority of ancient writers. Hoffman, speaking of this Ariantas, says, 'that he made each of his subjects bring him *every year* the point of an arrow.' For the truth of this *he refers the reader to* Herodotus, and the passage before *us. Herodotus says no* such thing.—*T.*

his subjects, on pain of death, to bring him the point of an arrow. By these means, so prodigious a quantity were collected, that this vessel was composed from them. It was left by the prince as a monument of the fact, and by him consecrated at Exampæus. This is what I have heard of the populousness of Scythia.

LXXXII. This country has nothing remarkable except its rivers, which are equally large and numerous. If, besides these and its vast and extensive plains, it possesses any thing worthy of admiration, it is an impression which they show of the foot of Hercules.[1] This is on a rock, two cubits in size, but resembling the footstep of a man: it is near the river Tyras.

LXXXIII. I shall now return to the subject from which I originally digressed. Darius, preparing to make an expedition against Scythia, despatched emissaries different ways, commanding some of his dependants to raise a supply of infantry, others to prepare a fleet, and others to throw a bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus. Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, endeavored to persuade the prince from his purpose, urging with great wisdom the indigence of Scythia; nor did he desist till he found all his arguments ineffectual. Darius, having completed his preparations, advanced from Susa with his army.

LXXXIV. On this occasion a Persian, whose name was Œbazus, and who had three sons in the army, asked permission of the king to detain one of them.

1 The length of the foot of Hercules was ascertained by that of the stadium at Olympia, which was said to have been measured by him to the length of six hundred of his own feet: hence Pythagoras estimated the size of Hercules by the rule of proportion; and hence too the proverb, *ex pede Herculem*.—*T*.

'he king replied, as to a friend, that the petition was ery modest, 'and that he would leave him all the iree.' Œbazus was greatly delighted, and considered is three sons as exempted from the service; but the ing commanded his guards to put the three young ien to death; and thus were the three sons of Œba-us left, deprived of life.

LXXXV. Darius marched from Susa to where the ridge had been thrown over the Bosphorus at Chal-edon. Here he embarked and set sail for the Cy-nean islands, which, if the Greeks may be believed, ormerly floated.[1] Here, sitting in the temple, he ast his eyes over the Euxine, which of all seas most eserves admiration. Its length is eleven thousand ne hundred stadia; its breadth, where it is greatest, s three thousand two hundred. The breadth of the ntrance is four stadia; the length of the neck, which s called the Bosphorus, where the bridge had been rected, is about one hundred and twenty stadia. The Bosphorus is connected with the Propontis;[2] which,

1 The Cyanean rocks were at so little distance one from he other, that viewed remotely, they appeared to touch. This optic illusion probably gave place to the fable, and the able gained credit from the dangers encountered on this sea. –*Larcher*.

2 Between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, the shores of Europe and Asia, receding on either side, inclose the sea of Marmora, which was known to the ancients by the denomi-nation of Propontis. The navigation from the issue of the Bosphorus to the entrance of the Hellespont is about one hundred and twenty miles. Those who steer their westward course through the middle of the Propontis may at once descry the high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never lose sight of the lofty summit of Mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows. They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was seated, the imperial resi-dence of Diocletian; and they pass the small islands of Cyzi-us and Proconnesus, before they cast anchor at Gallipoli,

flowing into the Hellespont,[1] is five hundred stadia in breadth, and four hundred in length. The Hellespont itself, in its narrowest part, where it enters the Ægean sea, is forty stadia long, and seven wide.

LXXXVI. The exact mensuration of these seas is thus determined: in a long day[2] a ship will sail the space of seventy thousand orgyiæ, and sixty thousand by night. From the entrance of the Euxine to Phasis, which is the extreme length of this sea, is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, which is equal to eleven hundred and ten thousand orgyiæ, or eleven thousand one hundred stadia. The broadest part of this sea, which is from Sindica to Themiscyra, on the river Thermodon, is a voyage of three days and two nights, which is equivalent to three thousand three hundred stadia, or three hundred and thirty thousand orgyiæ. The Pontus, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, were thus severally measured by me; and circumstanced as I have already described. The Palus Mæotis flows

where the sea which separates Asia from Europe is again contracted into a narrow channel.—*Gibbon.*

1 The geographers who, with the most skilful accuracy, have surveyed the form and extent of the Hellespont, assign about sixty miles for the winding course, and about three miles for the ordinary breadth of these celebrated straits. But the narrowest part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkish castles, between the cities of Cestus and Abydos. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage of the flood for the possession of his mistress:—it was here likewise, in a place where the distance between the opposite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes composed a stupendous bridge of boats for the purpose of transporting into Europe a hundred and seventy myriads of barbarians. A sea contracted within such narrow limits may seem but ill to deserve the epithet of *broad*, which Homer as well as Orpheus has frequently bestowed on the Hellespont.—*Gibbon.*

2 That is, a ship in a long day would sail eighty miles by day, and seventy miles by night.

into the Euxine, which in extent almost equals it, and which is justly called the mother of the Euxine.

LXXXVII. When Darius had taken a survey of the Euxine he sailed back again to the bridge constructed by Mandrocles the Samian. He then examined the Bosphorus; near which[1] he ordered two columns of white marble to be erected; on one were inscribed in Assyrian, on the other in Greek characters, the names of the different nations which followed him. In this expedition he was accompanied by all the nations which acknowleged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to seventy thousand men, independent of his fleet, which consisted of six hundred ships. These columns the Byzantines afterwards removed to their city, and placed before the altar of the Orthosian Diana,[2] excepting only one stone, which they deposited in their city before the temple of Bacchus, and which was covered with Assyrian characters. That part of the Bosphorus where Darius ordered the bridge to be erected is, as I conjecture, nearly at the point of middle distance between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the Euxine.

LXXXVIII. With this bridge Darius was so much

1 The new castles of Europe and Asia are constructed on either continent on the foundation of two celebrated temples of Serapis, and of Jupiter Urius. The old castles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narrowest part of the channel, in a place where the opposite banks advance within five hundred paces of each other. These fortresses were restored and strengthened by Mahomet the Second, when he meditated the siege of Constantinople: but the Turkish conqueror was most probably ignorant that near two thousand years before his reign Darius had chosen the same situation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats.—*Gibbon.*

2 We are told by Plutarch, that in honor of the Orthosian Diana, the young men of Lacedæmon permitted themselves to be flagellated at the altar with the extremest severity, without uttering the smallest complaint.

delighted that he made many valuable presents to Mandrocles the Samian, who constructed it: with the produce of these the artist caused a representation to be made of the Bosphorus, with the bridge thrown over it, and the king seated on a throne, reviewing his troops as they passed. This he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Juno, with this inscription:

Thus was the fishy Bosphorus inclosed,
When Samian Mandrocles his bridge imposed:
Who there, obedient to Darius' will,
Approved his country's fame, and private skill.

LXXXIX. Darius, having rewarded the artist, passed over into Europe: he had previously ordered the Ionians to pass over the Euxine to the Ister, where, having erected a bridge, they were to wait his arrival. To assist this expedition the Ionians and Æolians, with the inhabitants of the Hellespont, had assembled a fleet; accordingly, having passed the Cyanean islands, they sailed directly to the Ister; and arriving after a passage of two days from the sea, at that part of the river where it begins to branch off, they constructed a bridge. Darius crossed the Bosphorus, and marched through Thrace; and arriving at the sources of the river Tearus, he encamped for the space of three days.

XC. The people who inhabit its banks affirm the waters of the Tearus to be an excellent remedy for various diseases, and particularly for ulcers, both in men and horses. Its sources are thirty-eight in number, issuing from the same rock, part of which are cold, and part warm; they are at an equal distance from Heræum, a city near Perinthus, and from Apollonia on the Euxine, being a two days' journey from both. The Tearus flows into the Contadesdus; the Contadesdus into the Agrianis; the Agrianis into the

Hebrus; the Hebrus into the sea, near the city Ænus.

XCI. Darius arriving at the Tearus, there fixed his camp: he was so delighted with this river, that he caused a column to be erected on the spot, with this inscription: 'The sources of the Tearus afford the best and clearest waters in the world:—in prosecuting an expedition against Scythia, Darius, son of Hystaspes, the best and most amiable of men, sovereign of Persia, and of all the continent, arrived here with his forces.'

XCII. Leaving this place, Darius advanced towards another river, called Artiscus, which flows through the country of the Odrysians. On his arrival here he fixed on one certain spot, on which he commanded every one of his soldiers to throw a stone as he passed: this was accordingly done, and Darius, having thus raised an immense pile of stones, proceeded on his march.

XCIII. Before he arrived at the Ister, he first of all subdued the Getæ, a people who pretend to immortality. The Thracians of Salmydessus, and they who live above Apollonia, and the city of Mesambria, with those who are called Cyrmianians, and Mypsæans, submitted themselves to Darius without resistance. The Getæ obstinately defended themselves, but were soon reduced; these, of all the Thracians, are the bravest and most upright.

XCIV. They believe themselves to be immortal; and whenever any one dies they are of opinion that he is removed to the presence of their god Zamolxis, whom some believe to be the same with Gebeleizes. Once in every five years they choose one by lot, who is to be *despatched as* a messenger to Zamolxis, to *make known to him their* several wants. The cere-

mony they observe on this occasion is this:—three amongst them are appointed to hold in their hands three javelins, whilst others seize by the feet and hands the person who is appointed to appear before Zamolxis; they throw him up, so as to make him fall on the javelins. If he dies in consequence, they imagine that the deity is propitious to them; if not, they accuse the victim of being a wicked man. Having disgraced him, they proceed to the election of another, giving him, whilst yet alive, their commands. This same people, whenever it thunders or lightens, throw their weapons into the air, as if menacing their god; and they seriously believe that there is no other deity.

XCV. This Zamolxis, as I have been informed by those Greeks who inhabit the Hellespont and the Euxine, was himself a man, and formerly lived at Samos, in the service of Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus; having obtained his liberty, with considerable wealth, he returned to his country. Here he found the Thracians distinguished equally by their profligacy and their ignorance; whilst he himself had been accustomed to the Ionian mode of life, and to manners more polished than those of Thrace; he had also been connected with Pythagoras, one of the most celebrated philosophers of Greece. He was therefore induced to build a large mansion, to which he invited the most eminent of his fellow-citizens: he took the opportunity of the festive hour to assure them that neither himself, his guests, nor any of their descendants, should ever die, but should be removed to a place where they were to remain in the perpetual enjoyment of every blessing. After saying this, and conducting *himself* accordingly, he constructed a subterranean *edifice:* when it was completed, he withdrew himself

from the sight of his countrymen, and resided for three years beneath the earth.—During this period the Thracians regretted his loss, and lamented him as dead. In the fourth year he again appeared amongst them, and by this artifice gave the appearance of probability to what he had before asserted.

XCVI. To this story of the subterraneous apartment I do not give much credit, though I pretend not to dispute it; I am however very certain that Zamolxis must have lived many years before Pythagoras: whether therefore he was a man, or the deity of the Getæ, enough has been said concerning him. These Getæ, using the ceremonies I have described, after submitting themselves to the Persians under Darius, followed his army.

XCVII. Darius, when he arrived at the Ister, passed the river with his army: he then commanded the Ionians to break down the bridge, and to follow him with all the men of their fleet. When they were about to comply with his orders, Coes, son of Erxander, and leader of the Mitylenians, after requesting permission of the king to deliver his sentiments, addressed him as follows:

'As you are going, sir, to attack a country which, if report may be believed, is without cities and intirely uncultivated, suffer the bridge to continue as it is, under the care of those who constructed it:—by means of this our return will be secured, whether we find the Scythians, and succeed against them according to our wishes, or whether they elude our endeavors to discover them. I am not at all apprehensive that the Scythians will overcome us; but I think that if we do not meet them we shall suffer from our ignorance of the country. *It may be* said perhaps that I speak *from selfish considerations*, and that I am desirous

of being left behind; but my real motive is for your interest, whom at all events I am de to follow.'

With this counsel Darius was greatly delig thus replied:—'My Lesbian friend, when I turn safe and fortunate from this expeditic that I may see you, and I will not fail amply t you for your excellent advice.'

XCVIII. After this speech the king took on which he tied sixty knots,[1] then sending Ionian chiefs, he thus addressed them:—

1 Larcher observes that this mode of notation p treme stupidity on the part of the Persians. It that the science of arithmetic was first brought to in Greece, but when or where it was first introdu tirely uncertain; I should be inclined to imagine knowlege of numbers would be found in regions barbarous, and amongst human beings the most ign I not now before me an account of some America who have no term in their language to express number than three, and even this they call by the un tedious name of patarrarorincoursac. In the Odys it is said that Proteus will count his herd of sea-c expression used is, *he will reckon them by fives*, w been remarked as being probably a relic of a mode ing practised in some remote age, when five was th numeral. To count the fingers of one hand was arithmetical effort: to carry on the account through hand was a refinement, and required attention a lection.

M. Goguet thinks that in all numerical calculation were first used: ψηφίζω, to calculate, comes fro a little stone, and the word *calculation*, from *calculi* This is probably true; but between counting by fingers and standing in need of pebbles to continue tion, there must have been many intervening ste provement. A more complicated mode of countir fingers was also used by the ancients, in which they as far as one hundred on the left hand, by different *of the fingers*; the next hundred was counted on *hand*, and so on, according to some authors, as f *thousand*. In allusion to this, Juvenal says of Ne

n of Ionia, I have thought proper to change my l determination concerning this bridge; do you ɪis cord, and observe what I require; from the my departure against Scythia, do not fail every untie one of these knots. If they shall be all ɪd before you see me again, you are at liberty rn to your country; but in the mean time it is ɪire that you preserve and defend this bridge, ch means you will effectually oblige me.' As s Darius had spoken he proceeded on his

X. The part of Thrace which stretches to the ɪ Scythia immediately contiguous to it; where ends Scythia begins, through which the Ister commencing at the south-east, and emptying ɪto the Euxine. It shall be my business to de- that part of Scythia which is continued from uth of the Ister to the sea-coast. Ancient Scy- ctends from the Ister westward as far as the ɪrcinitis. The mountainous country above this in the same direction, as far as what is called ɪchean Chersonesus, is possessed by the people rus; this place is situated near the sea to the Scythia, like Attica, is in two parts bounded by ɪ, westward and to the east. The people of

ɪue suos jam *dextrâ* computat annos.—*Sat.* x. 249.
old lady is mentioned by Nicarchus, an Anthologic ho made Nestor seem young, having returned to the d again. This however must be an extravagant hy- , as it would make her above nine thousand years old, is some error in the modern accounts.—There is a Bede's on this subject, which I have not seen; it is ted. Macrobius and Pliny tell us that the statues of ere so formed, as to mark the number of days in the the position of *his* fingers, in Numa's time 355, after *correction* 365.—*Saturn.* i. 9. and Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 7.

Taurus are circumstanced with respect to Scythia, as any other nation would be with respect to Attica, who, instead of Athenians, should inhabit the Sunian promontory, stretching from the district of the Thonicus, as far as Anaphlystus. Such, comparing small things with great, is the district of Tauris; but as there may be some who have not visited these parts of Attica, I shall endeavor to explain myself more intelligibly. Suppose that beginning at the port of Brundusium,[1] another nation, and not the Iapyges, should occupy that country as far as Tarentum, separating it from the rest of the continent: I mention these two, but there are many other places similarly situated, to which Tauris might be compared.

C. The country above Tauris, as well as that towards the sea to the east, is inhabited by Scythians, who possess also the lands which lie to the west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis, as far as the Tanais, which empties itself into this lake; so that as you advance from the Ister inland Scythia is terminated first by the Agathyrsi, then by the Neuri, thirdly by the Androphagi, and last of all, by the Melanchlæni.

CI. Scythia thus appears to be of a quadrangular form, having two of its sides terminated by the sea, to which its other two towards the land are perfectly equal: from the Ister to the Borysthenes is a ten days' journey, which is also the distance from the

1 This place, which is now called Brindisi, was very memorable in the annals of ancient Rome: here Augustus first took the name of Cæsar; here the poet Pacuvius was born; and here Virgil died.—It belongs to the king of Naples; and *it is the* opinion of modern travellers that the kingdom of *Naples* possesses no place so advantageously situated for *trade.—T.*

orysthenes to the Palus Mæotis. Ascending from the sea inland, as far as the country of the Melanchlæni, beyond Scythia, is a journey of twenty days: according to my computation, a day's journey is equal to two hundred stadia:[1] thus the extent of Scythia, along its sides, is four thousand stadia; and through the midst of it inland is four thousand more.

CII. The Scythians, conferring with one another, conceived that of themselves they were unable to repel the forces of Darius; they therefore made application to their neighbors. The princes also to whom they applied held a consultation concerning the powerful army of the invader; at this meeting were assembled the princes of the Agathyrsi, Tauri, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ.

CIII. Of these nations, the Tauri are distinguished by these peculiar customs:[2] All strangers shipwrecked on their coasts, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they sacrifice to a virgin in the following manner: after the ceremonies of prayer, they strike the victim on the head with a club. Some affirm, that having fixed the head on a cross, they precipitate the body from the rock, on the craggy part of which

1 Authors do not agree with each other, nor indeed with themselves, about the length of the day's journey; Herodotus here gives two hundred stadia to a day's journey; but in the fifth book he gives no more than one hundred and fifty.—*T.*

2 These customs, as far as they relate to the religious ceremonies described in the subsequent paragraphs of this chapter, must have been rendered by the Iphigenia of Euripides, and other writers, too familiar to require any minute discussion. The story of Iphigenia also, in all its particulars, with the singular resemblance which it bears to the account of the daughter of Jephtha in the sacred Scriptures, must be equally *well known.—T.*

the temple stands: others again, allowing that the head is thus exposed, deny that the body is so treated, but say that it is buried. The sacred personage to whom this sacrifice is offered the Taurians themselves assert to be Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. The manner in which they treat their captives is this:—every man cuts off the head of his prisoner, and carries it to his house; this he fixes on a stake, which is placed generally at the top of the chimney: thus situated, they affect to consider it as the protector of their families: their whole subsistence is procured by acts of plunder and hostility.

CIV. The Agathyrsi are a people of very effeminate manners, but abounding in gold; they live promiscuously, so that being all connected by the ties of consanguinity, they know nothing of envy or of hatred: in other respects they very strongly resemble the Thracians.

CV. The Neuri observe the Scythian customs. In the age preceding this invasion of Darius they were compelled to change their habitations, from the multitude of serpents which infested them: besides what their own soil produced, these came in far greater numbers from the deserts above them; till they were at length compelled to take refuge with the Budini; these people have the character of being magicians. It is asserted by the Scythians, as well as by those Greeks who dwell in Scythia, that once in every year they are all of them changed into wolves; and that after remaining so for the space of a few days, they resume their former shape; but this I do not believe, although they swear that it is true.

CVI. The Androphagi are perhaps, of all mankind, *the rudest*; they have no forms of law or justice;

their employment is feeding of cattle; and though their dress is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themselves.

CVII. The Melanchlæni have all black garments; from whence they derive their name: these are the only people known to feed on human flesh:[1] their manners are those of Scythia.

CVIII. The Budini are a great and numerous people; their bodies are painted of a blue and red color; they have in their country a town called Gelonus, built entirely of wood. Its walls are of a surprising height: they are on each side three hundred stadia in length; the houses and temples are all of wood. They have temples built in the Grecian manner to Grecian deities, with the statues, altars, and shrines of wood. Every three years they have a festival in honor of Bacchus. The Geloni are of Grecian origin; but being expelled from the commercial towns, they established themselves amongst the Budini. Their language is a mixture of Greek and Scythian.

CIX. The Budini are distinguished equally in their language and manner of life from the Geloni: they are the original natives of the country, feeders of cattle, and the only people of the country who eat vermin. The Geloni, on the contrary, pay attention to agriculture, live on corn, cultivate gardens, and resemble the Budini neither in appearance nor complexion. The Greeks however are apt, though erroneously, to confound them both under the name of Geloni. Their country is covered with trees of every species; where these are the thickest there is a large and spacious lake with a marsh surrounded with reeds.

1 M. Larcher very naturally thinks this a passage transposed *from the preceding* chapter, as indeed the word *Androphagi literally means* eaters of human flesh.

In this lake are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals, who have square snouts: of these the skins are used to border the garment;[1] and a certain part of their body is esteemed useful in hysteric diseases.

CX. Of the Sauromatæ[2] we have this account. In a contest which the Greeks had with the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Oiorpata,[3] or, as it may be interpreted, men-slayers (for Oeor signifies a man, and pata to kill,) they obtained a victory over them at Thermodon. On their return, as many Amazons[4] as

1 It is perhaps not unworthy remark, that throughout the sacred Scriptures we find no mention made of furs; and this is the more remarkable, as in Syria and Egypt, according to the accounts of modern travellers, garments lined and bordered with costly furs are the dresses of honor and of ceremony. Purple and fine linen are what we often read of in Scripture; but never of fur.—*T.*

2 This people were also called Sarmatæ or Sarmatians. It may perhaps tend to excite some novel and interesting ideas in the mind of the English reader, when he is informed that amongst a people rude and uncivilised as these Sarmatians are here described, the tender and effeminate Ovid was compelled to consume a long and melancholy exile. It was on the banks of the Danube that he wrote those nine books of epistles, which are certainly not the least valuable of his works.—*T.*

3 This etymology is founded on a notion that the Amazons were a community of women who killed every man with whom they had any commerce, and yet subsisted as a people for ages. This title was given them from their worship; for Oiorpata, or as some manuscripts have it, Aorpata, is the same as Patah-Or, the priest of Orus, or, in a more lax sense, the votaries of that god. They sacrificed all strangers whom fortune brought on their coast: so that the whole Euxine sea, on which they lived, was rendered infamous from their cruelty.—*Bryant.*

4 The more striking peculiarities relating to this fancied community of women are doubtless familiar to the most common reader. The subject, considered in a scientific point of view, is admirably discussed by Bryant. His chapter on the *Amazons* is too long to transcribe, and it would be injurious *to mutilate it.* 'Among barbarous nations,' says Mr. Gibbon, '*women have* often combated by the side of their husbands:

;y were able to take captive they distributed in 'ee vessels: these, when they were out at sea, rose ainst their conquerors, and put them all to death. ıt as they were totally ignorant of navigation, and ew nothing at all of the management either of helms, ls, or oars, they were obliged to resign themselves the wind and the tide, which carried them to Crem-s, near the Palus Mæotis, a place inhabited by the e Scythians. The Amazons here disembarked, and vanced towards the part which was inhabited, and eting with a stud of horses in their route, they im-ediately seized them, and, mounted on these, pro-eded to plunder the Scythians.

CXI. The Scythians were unable to explain what d happened, being neither acquainted with the lan-age, the dress, nor the country of the invaders. nder the impression that they were a body of men arly of the same age, they offered them battle. The sult was, that having taken some as prisoners, they last discovered them to be women. After a consul-tion amongst themselves, they determined not to put ıy of them to death, but to select a detachment of eir youngest men, equal in number, as they might njecture, to the Amazons. They were directed to ıcamp opposite to them, and by their adversaries' otions to regulate their own: if they were attacked, ıey were to retreat without making resistance; when ıe pursuit should be discontinued, they were to re-ırn, and again encamp as near the Amazons as pos-ble. The Scythians took these measures with the iew of having children by these invaders.

CXII. The young men did as they were ordered.

ut it is *almost* impossible that a society of Amazons should *'er have existed in the* old or new world.'—T.

The Amazons, seeing that no injury was offered them, desisted from hostilities. The two camps imperceptibly approached each other. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses; and both obtained their subsistence from the chase.

CXIII. It was the custom of the Amazons, about noon, to retire from the rest, either alone or two in company. The Scythians discovered this, and did likewise. One of the young men met with an Amazon who had wandered alone from the rest, and who did not reject his caresses. They were not able to converse with each other, but she intimated by signs, that if on the following day he would come to the same place, and bring with him a companion, she would bring another female to meet him. The young man returned, and told what had happened: he was punctual to his engagement, and the next day went with a friend to the place, where he found the two Amazons waiting to receive them.

CXIV. This adventure was communicated to the Scythians, who soon conciliated the rest of the women. The two camps were presently united; and each considered as his wife her to whom he had first attached himself. As they were not able to learn the dialect of the Amazons they taught them theirs; which having accomplished, the husbands thus addressed their wives: —'We have relations and property; let us therefore change this mode of life; let us go hence, and communicate with the rest of our countrymen, where you, and you only, shall be our wives.' To this the Amazons thus replied: 'We cannot associate with your females, whose manners are so different from our own; we are expert in the use of the javelin and the bow, and accustomed to ride on horseback, but we are ignorant of

ll feminine employments: your women are very diffeently accomplished: instructed in female arts, they ass their time in their waggons and despise the chase, rith all similar exercises: we cannot therefore live rith them. If you really desire to retain us as your rives, and to behave yourselves honestly towards us, eturn to your parents, dispose of your property, and fterwards come back to us, and we will live together, t a distance from your other connexions.'

CXV. The young men approved of their advice: hey accordingly took their share of the property vhich belonged to them, and returned to the Amazons, y whom they were thus addressed: 'Our residence iere occasions us much terror and uneasiness: we iave not only deprived you of your parents, but have reatly wasted your country. As you think us worthy f being your wives let us leave this place, and dwell eyond the Tanais.'

CXVI. With this also the young Scythians comlied, and having passed the Tanais, they marched orwards a three days' journey towards the east, and hree more from the Palus Mæotis towards the north. Here they fixed themselves, and now remain. The vomen of the Sauromatæ still retain their former iabits of life; they pursue the chase on horseback, ometimes with and sometimes without their husbands, ind, dressed in the habits of the men, frequently engage in battle.

CXVII. The Sauromatæ use the Scythian language, but their dialect has always been impure, because the Amazons themselves had learned it but imperfectly. With respect to their institutions concerning marriage, no virgin is permitted to marry till she shall *first have killed* an enemy.[1] It sometimes there-

1 *The account which* Hippocrates *gives is somewhat di*

fore happens that many women die single at an advanced age, having never been able to fulfil the conditions required.

CXVIII. To these nations, which I have described, assembled in council, the Scythian ambassadors were admitted:—they informed the princes that the Persian, having reduced under his authority all the nations of the adjoining continent, had thrown a bridge over the neck of the Bosphorus, in order to pass into theirs: that he had already subdued Thrace, and constructed a bridge over the Ister, ambitiously hoping to reduce them also. 'Will it be just,' they continued, 'for you to remain inactive spectators of our ruin? Rather, having the same sentiments, let us advance together against this invader: unless you do this, we shall be reduced to the last extremities, and be compelled either to forsake our country, or to submit to the terms he may impose. If you withhold your assistance, what may we not dread? Neither will you have reason to expect a different nor a better fate: for are not you the object of the Persian's ambition as well as ourselves? or do you suppose that, having vanquished us, he will leave you unmolested? That we reason justly, you have sufficient evidence before you. If his hostilities were directed only against us, with the view of revenging on us the former servile condition of his nation, he would immediately have marched into our country, without at all injuring or molesting others: he would have shown

ferent: the women of the Sauromatæ mount on horseback, draw the bow, lance the javelin from on horseback, and go to war as long as they remained unmarried: they are not suffered to marry till they have killed three enemies; nor do they live with their husbands till they have performed the ceremonies which their laws require. Their married women do not go on horseback, unless indeed it should be necessary to make a national expedition.

y his conduct that his indignation was directed gainst the Scythians only. On the contrary, as soon s ever he set foot on our continent, he reduced all e nations which he met, and has subdued the Thraians and our neighbors the Getæ.'

CXIX. When the Scythians had thus delivered eir sentiments, the princes of the nations who were ssembled deliberated among themselves, but great ifference of opinion prevailed; the sovereigns of the eloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ, were unanimous in eir inclination to assist the Scythians; but those of e Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, and 'auri, made this answer to the ambassadors: 'If you ad not been the first aggressors in this dispute, aving first of all commenced hostilities against Peria, your desire of assistance would have appeared to s reasonable; we should have listened to you with ttention, and yielded the aid which you require: ut, without any interference on our part, you first ade incursions into their territories, and as long as ortune favored you, ruled over Persia. The same ortune now seems propitious to them, and they only etaliate your own conduct on you. We did not beore offer any injury to this people; neither without rovocation shall we do so now: but if he attack our ountry, and commence hostilities against us, he will nd that we shall not patiently endure the insult. Jntil he shall do this we shall remain neuter. We annot believe that the Persians intend any injury to s, but to those alone who first offended them.'

CXX. When the Scythians heard this, and found hat they had no assistance to expect, they determined o avoid all open and decisive encounters: with this iew they *divided themselves* into two bodies, and re-

tiring gradually before the enemy, they filled up the wells and fountains which lay in their way, and destroyed the produce of their fields. The Sauromatæ were directed to advance to the district under the authority of Scopasis, with orders, on the advance of the Persians, to retreat towards the Mæotis, by the river Tanais. If the Persians retreated, they were to harass and pursue them. This was the disposition of one part of their power. The two other divisions of their country, the greater one under Indathyrsus, and the third under Taxacis, were to join themselves to the Geloni and Budini, and advancing a day's march before the Persians, were gradually to retreat, and in other respects perform what had been previously determined in council. They were particularly enjoined to allure the enemy to pass the dominions of those nations who had withheld their assistance, in order that their indignation might be provoked; that, as they were unwilling to unite in any hostilities before, they should now be compelled to take arms in their own defence. They were finally to retire into their own country, and to attack the enemy, if it could be done with any prospect of success.[1]

CXXI. The Scythians, having determined on these measures, advanced silently before the forces of Darius, sending forwards as scouts a select detachment of their cavalry: they also despatched before them the carriages in which their wives and children usually live, together with their cattle, reserving only such a

1 The very judicious plan of operation here portrayed seems rather to belong to a civilised nation, acquainted with all the subterfuges of the most improved military discipline, than to a people so rude and barbarous as the Scythians are elsewhere represented.—T.

number as was necessary to their subsistence, giving direction that their route should be regularly towards the north.

CXXII. These carriages accordingly advanced as they were directed: the Scythian scouts, finding that the Persians had proceeded a three days' journey from the Ister, encamped at the distance of one day's march from their army, and destroyed all the produce of the lands. The Persians as soon as they came in sight of the Scythian cavalry commenced the pursuit, whilst the Scythians regularly retired before them. Directing their attention to one part of the enemy in particular, the Persians continued to advance eastward towards the Tanais. The Scythians having crossed this river, the Persians did the same, till passing over the country of the Sauromatæ, they came to that of the Budini.

CXXIII. As long as the Persians remained in Scythia and Sarmatia they had little power of doing injury, the country around them was so vast and extensive; but as soon as they came amongst the Budini, they discovered a town built intirely of wood, which the inhabitants had totally stripped and deserted; to this they set fire. This done, they continued their pursuit through the country of the Budini till they came to a dreary solitude. This is beyond the Budini, and of the extent of a seven days' journey, without a single inhabitant. Farther on are the Thyssagetæ, from whose country four great rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themselves into the Palus Mæotis. The names of these rivers are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanais, and the Syrgis.

CXXIV. As soon as Darius arrived at the above solitude he halted, and encamped his army on the banks of the Oarus: he then constructed eight large

forts, at the distance of sixty stadia from each other; the ruins of which have been visible to my time. Whilst he was thus employed, that detachment of the enemy which he had pursued, making a circuit by the higher parts of the country, returned into Scythia. When these had disappeared, and were no more to be discovered, Darius left his forts in an unfinished state, and directed his march westward, thinking that the Scythians whom he had pursued were the whole of the nation, and had fled towards the west: accelerating therefore his march, he arrived in Scythia, and met with two detachments of Scythians; these also he pursued, who took care to keep from him at the distance of one day's march.

CXXV. Darius continued his pursuit, and the Scythians, as had been previously concerted, led him into the country of those who had refused to accede to their alliance, and first of all into that of the Melanchlæni. When the lands of this people had been effectually harassed by the Scythians, as well as the Persians, the latter were again led by the former into the district of the Androphagi. Having in like manner distressed these, the Persians were allured on to the Neuri: the Neuri being also alarmed and harassed, the attempt was made to carry the Persians amongst the Agathyrsi. This people however had observed, that before their own country had suffered any injury from the invaders, the Scythians had taken care to distress the lands of their neighbors; they accordingly despatched to them a messenger, forbidding their nearer approach, and threatening that any attempt to advance should meet with their hostile resistance: with this determination, the Agathyrsi appeared in arms on their borders. But the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, although they had suffered

qually from the Persians and the Scythians, neither nade any exertions, nor remembered what they had efore menaced, but fled in alarm to the deserts of the orth. The Scythians, turning aside from the Agahyrsi, who had refused to assist them, retreated from he country of the Neuri towards Scythia, whither hey were pursued by the Persians.

CXXVI. As they continued to persevere in the ame conduct, Darius was induced to send a messen;er to Indathyrsus, the Scythian prince. 'Most vretched man,' said the ambassador, 'why do you hus continue to fly, having the choice of one of these lternatives—If you think yourself able to contend vith me, stop and let us engage; if you feel a concious inferiority, bring to me, as to your superior, arth and water?—Let us come to a conference.'

CXXVII. The Scythian monarch made this reply: It is not my disposition, O Persian! to fly from any nan through fear; neither do I now fly from you. My present conduct differs not at all from that which [pursue in a state of peace. Why I do not contend with you in the open field I will explain: we have no nhabited towns nor cultivated lands of which we can ear your invasion or your plunder, and have therefore no occasion to engage with you precipitately: but we have the sepulchres of our fathers; these you may liscover; and if you endeavor to injure them, you shall soon know how far we are able or willing to esist you; till then we will not meet you in battle. Remember, farther, that I acknowlege no master or uperior but Jupiter, who was my ancestor, and Histia he Scythian queen. Instead of the presents which you require of earth and water, I will send you such as *you better deserve:* and in return for your calling *ourself my master,* I only bid you weep.'—Such was

the answer of the Scythian,[1] which the ambassador related to Darius.

CXXVIII. The very idea of servitude exasperated the Scythian princes; they accordingly despatched that part of their army which was under Scopasis, together with the Sauromatæ, to solicit a conference with the Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister: those who remained did not think it necessary any more to lead the Persians about, but regularly endeavored to surprise them when at their meals; they watched therefore their proper opportunities, and executed their purpose. The Scythian horse never failed of driving back the cavalry of the Persians; but these last, in falling back on their infantry, were always secured and supported. The Scythians, notwithstanding their advantage over the Persian horse, always retreated from the foot: they frequently, however, attacked them under cover of the night.

CXXIX. In these attacks of the Scythians on the camp of Darius the Persians had one advantage, which I shall explain. It arose from the braying of the asses and appearance of the mules. I have before observed that neither of these animals are produced in Scythia on account of the extreme cold: the braying therefore of the asses greatly distressed the Scythian horses; which, as often as they attacked the Persians, pricked up their ears and ran back, equally disturbed by a noise which they had never heard and figures they had never seen: this was of some importance in the progress of hostilities.

CXXX. The Scythians, discovering that the Persians were in extreme perplexity, hoped that by de-

1 *To bid a person weep was a kind of proverbial form of wishing him ill.—T.*

aining them longer in their country they should finally 'educe them to the utmost distress: with this view hey occasionally left exposed some of their cattle vith their shepherds, and artfully retired; of these, vith much exultation, the Persians took possession.

CXXXI. This was again and again repeated: Da-ius, nevertheless, became gradually in want of almost :very necessary: the Scythian princes, knowing this, ient to him a messenger, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, ind five arrows,[1] as a present. The Persians inquired

1 This naturally brings to the mind of an Englishman a iomewhat similar present, intended to irritate and provoke, iest recorded and expressed by our immortal Shakspeare.—See his Life of Henry the Fifth:—

French Ambassador.——Thus then, in few:—
Your highness, lately sending into France,
Did claim some certain dukedoms, in the right
Of your great predecessor Edward the Third.
In answer of which claim, the prince our master
Says, that you savour too much of your youth,
And bids you be advised, there's nought in France
That can be with a nimble galliard won;
You cannot revel into dukedoms there:
He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,
This tun of treasure, and in lieu of this
Desires you, let the dukedoms that you claim
Hear no more of you.—This the Dauphin speaks.
K. Henry. What treasure, uncle?
Exet. Tennis balls, my liege.
K. Henry. We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us:
His present and your pains we thank you for.
When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,
We will in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.
Tell him he hath made a match with such a wrangler,
That all the courts of France will be disturb'd
With chases.

It may not be improper to remark, that of this enigmatical way of speaking and acting the ancients appear to have been 'emarkably fond. *In the* Pythagorean school the precept to *ibstain from beans involved* the command of refraining from *nlawful love; and in* an epigram imputed to Virgil the

of the bearer what these might mean; but the man declared that his orders were only to deliver them and return: he advised them, however, to exert their sagacity and interpret the mystery.

CXXXII. The Persians accordingly held a consultation on the subject. Darius was of opinion that the Scythians intended by this to express submission to him, and give him the earth and the water which he required. The mouse, as he explained it, was produced in the earth, and lived on the same food as man; the frog was a native of the water; the bird bore great resemblance to a horse;[1] and in giving the arrows they intimated the surrender of their power: this was the interpretation of Darius. Gobryas, however, one of the seven who had dethroned the magus, thus interpreted the presents: 'Men of Persia, unless like birds ye shall mount into the air; like mice take refuge in the earth; or like frogs leap into the marshes; these arrows shall prevent the possibility of your return to the place from whence you came.' This explanation was generally accepted.

CXXXIII. That detachment of the Scythians who had before been intrusted with the defence of the Palus Mæotis, but who were afterwards sent to the Ionians at the Ister, no sooner arrived at the bridge than they thus spake: 'Men of Ionia, if you will but

letter Y intimated a systematic attachment to virtue: this may be found in Lactantius. The act of Tarquin, in striking off the heads from the tallest poppies in his garden is sufficiently notorious; and the fables of Æsop and of Phædrus may serve to prove that this partiality to allegory was not more universal than it was founded in a delicate and just conception of things. —T.

1 *It is by no means easy to find out any resemblance which a bird bears to a horse, except, as Larcher observes, in swiftness, which is however very far-fetched.*—T.

hearken to our words, we come to bring you liberty: we have been told that Darius commanded you to guard this bridge for sixty days only; if in that time he should not appear you were permitted to return home. Do this, and you will neither disobey him nor offend us: stay therefore till the time which he has appointed, and then depart.' With this injunction the Ionians promising to comply, the Scythians instantly retired.

CXXXIV. The rest of the Scythians, having sent the present to Darius which we have described, opposed themselves to him, both horse and foot, in order of battle. Whilst they were in this situation a hare was seen in the space betwixt the two armies; the Scythians immediately pursued it with loud cries. Darius, inquiring the cause of the tumult which he heard, was informed that the enemy were pursuing a hare; on this, turning to some of his confidential attendants, 'these men,' he exclaimed, 'do, indeed, seem greatly to despise us; and Gobryas has properly interpreted the Scythian presents. I am now of the same opinion myself; and it becomes us to exert all our sagacity to effect a safe return to the place from whence we came.'—'Indeed, sir,' answered Gobryas, 'I had before heard of the poverty of this people; I have now clearly seen it, and can perceive that they hold us in extreme contempt. I would therefore advise, that as soon as the night sets in, we light our fires as usual;[1] and, farther to delude the enemy, let us tie

1 This incident is related, with very little variation, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, a book which I may venture to recommend to all young students in Greek, from its entertaining matter, as well as from the easy elegance and purity of its style; indeed I cannot help expressing my surprise that it should not yet have found its way into our public schools.

all the asses together, and leave behind us the more infirm of our forces; this done, let us retire, before the Scythians shall advance towards the Ister, and break down the bridge, or before the Ionians shall come to any resolution which may cause our ruin.'

CXXXV. Darius having acceded to this opinion of Gobryas, as soon as the evening approached, the more infirm of the troops, and those whose loss was deemed of little importance, were left behind; all the asses also were secured together: the motive for this was, the expectation that the presence of those who remained would cause the asses to bray as usual. The sick and infirm were deserted, under the pretence, that whilst the king was marching with his best troops to engage the Scythians, they were to defend the camp. After circulating this report the fires were lighted, and Darius with the greatest expedition directed his march towards the Ister: the asses, missing the usual multitude, made so much the greater noise, by hearing which the Scythians were induced to believe that the Persians still continued in their camp.

CXXXVI. When morning appeared, they who were left, perceiving themselves deserted by Darius, made signals to the Scythians, and explained their situation; on which intelligence the two divisions of the Scythians, forming a junction with the Sauromatæ, the Budini, and Geloni, advanced towards the Ister in pursuit of the Persians; but as the Persian army consisted principally of foot, who were ignorant of the country, through which there were no regular paths, and as the Scythians were chiefly horse, and perfectly acquainted with the ways, they mutually missed of

it might, I think, be read with much advantage as preparatory *to Xenophon.—T.*

each other, and the Scythians arrived at the bridge much sooner than the Persians. Here, finding that the Persians were not yet come, they thus addressed the Ionians, who were on board their vessels:—'Ionians, the number of days is now past, and you do wrong in remaining here: if motives of fear have hitherto detained you, you may now break down the bridge, and having recovered your liberties, be thankful to the gods and to us: we will take care that he who was formerly your master, shall never again make war on any one.'

CXXXVII. The Ionians being met in council on this subject, Miltiades, the Athenian leader, and prince of the Chersonesus, on the Hellespont, was of opinion that the advice of the Scythians should be taken, and Ionia be thus relieved from servitude. Histiæus, the Milesian, thought differently: he represented, that through Darius each of them now enjoyed the sovereignty of their several cities; that if the power of Darius was once taken away, neither he himself should continue supreme at Miletus, nor would any of them be able to retain their superiority: for it was evident that all their fellow-citizens would prefer a popular government to that of a tyrant. This argument appeared so forcible, that all they who had before assented to Miltiades, instantly adopted it.

CXXXVIII. They who acceded to this opinion were also in great estimation with the king. Of the princes of the Hellespont, there were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus the Proconnesian, Aristagoras of Cyzicum, and Ariston the Byzantian.[1] Amongst the Ionian leaders

1 This is well known to be the modern Constantinople, and has been *too often and too* correctly described to require any *thing from my pen.*

were Stratias of Chios, Æacides of Samos, Lac the Phocean, and Histiæus the Milesian, who nion prevailed in the assembly, in opposition to Miltiades; the only Æolian of consequence w present on this occasion was Aristagoras of Cyn

CXXXIX. These leaders, acceding to the of Histiæus, thought it would be advisable to down that part of the bridge which was toward thia, to the extent of a bow-shot. This, alth was of no real importance, would prevent th thians from passing the Ister on the bridge, and induce them to believe that no inclination was ing on the part of the Ionians to comply wit wishes: accordingly, in the name of the rest, H thus addressed them: 'Men of Scythia, we c your advice as of consequence to our interest, take in good part your urging it on us. Yo shown us the path which we ought to pursue, are readily disposed to follow it: we shall break the bridge as you recommend, and in all thing discover the most earnest zeal to secure our lib in the mean time, whilst we shall be thus emplo becomes you to go in pursuit of the enemy, and found them, revenge yourselves and us.'

CXL. The Scythians, placing an intire con in the promises of the Ionians, returned to the of the Persians: they did not however find the in that particular district they themselves ha stroyed all the fodder for the horses, and co all the springs; they might otherwise easily have the Persians: and thus it happened, that the m which at first promised them success became ulti injurious. They directed their march to thos of Scythia where they were secure of water a visions for their horses, thinking themselves ce

eeting with the enemy; but the Persian prince, ng the track he had before pursued, found, with the greatest difficulty, the place he aimed riving at the bridge by night, and finding it down, he was exceedingly disheartened, and red himself abandoned by the Ionians.

I. There was in the army of Darius an Egyp- ery remarkable for the loudness of his voice:[1] an Darius ordered to advance to the banks of er, and to pronounce with all his strength the of 'Histiæus the Milesian:' Histiæus imme- heard him, and approaching with all the fleet, d the Persians to repass, by again forming a

II. By these means the Persians escaped, the Scythians were a second time engaged in

the use here made of this Egyptian, and the particular of Stentor in the Iliad, it may be presumed that it ustomary thing for one or more such personages to be on every military expedition. At the present day we may feel ourselves inclined to dispute the utility, ule the appearance of such a character; but before ention of artillery, and when the firm but silent disci- the ancients, and of the Greeks in particular, is con- , such men might occasionally exert their talents with icable effect.

aven's empress mingles with the mortal crowd,
d shouts in Stentor's sounding voice aloud;
ntor the strong, endued with brazen lungs,
ose throat surpass'd the force of fifty tongues.

shouting of Achilles from the Grecian battlements is nted to have had the power of impressing terror on rts of the boldest warriors, and of suspending a ous and hard fought battle:

th march'd the chief, and distant from the crowd
h on the rampart raised his voice aloud;
th her own shout Minerva swells the sound;
y starts *astonish'd*, and the shores rebound:
igh his brazen voice the hero rear'd,
s drop their arms, and tremble as they heard.

a long and fruitless pursuit. From this period the Scythians considered the Ionians as the basest and most contemptible of mankind, speaking of them as men attached to servitude, and incapable of freedom; and always using towards them the most reproachful terms.

CXLIII. Darius proceeding through Thrace, arrived at Sestos of the Chersonesus, from whence he passed over into Asia: he left, however, some troops in Europe, under the command of Megabyzus, a Persian, of whom it is reported, that one day in conversation the king spoke in terms of the highest honor.—He was about to eat some pomegranates, and having opened one, he was asked by his brother Artabanus what thing there was which he would desire to possess in as great a quantity as there were seeds in the pomegranate?[1] 'I would rather,' he replied, 'have so many Megabyzi, than see Greece under my power.' This compliment he paid him publicly, and at this time he left him at the head of eighty thousand men.

CXLIV. This same person also, for a saying which I shall relate, left behind him in the Hellespont a name never to be forgotten. Being at Byzantium, he learned on inquiry that the Chalcedonians[2] had built their city seventeen years before the Byzantians had founded

1 Plutarch relates this incident in his apophthegms of kings and illustrious generals, but applies it to Zopyrus, who by mangling his nose, and cutting off his ears, made himself master of Babylon.

2 The promontory on which the ancient Chalcedon stood is a very fine situation, being a gentle rising ground from the sea, with which it is almost bounded on three sides; farther on the east side of it is a small river which falls into the little bay to the south, that seems to have been their port; so that Chalcedon would be esteemed a most delightful situation, if Constantinople was not so near it, which is indeed more advantageously situated.—Pococke.

ıeirs: he observed, that the Chalcedonians must then ave been blind,—or otherwise, having the choice of situation in all respects better, they would never ave preferred one so very inferior. Megabyzus being ıus left with the command of the Hellespont, reuced all those who were in opposition to the Medes.[1]

CXLV. About the same time another great expeition was set on foot in Libya, the occasion of which shall relate: it will be first necessary to premise ıis:—the posterity of the Argonauts having been expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians, who had carled off from Brauron some Athenian women, sailed Lacedæmon: they disembarked at Taygetus, where ıey made a great fire. The Lacedæmonians perceivıg this, sent to inquire of them who and whence they 'ere: they returned for answer that they were Minyæ, escendants of those heroes who, passing the ocean in ıe Argo, settled in Lemnos, and there begot them.—Vhen the Lacedæmonians heard this account of their escent, they sent a second messenger, inquiring what 'as the meaning of the fire they had made, and what ıeir intentions by coming among them. Their reply 'as to this effect, that being expelled by the Pelasians, they had returned, as was reasonable, to the ountry of their ancestors, and were desirous to fix ıeir residence with them, as partakers of their lands nd honors. The Lacedæmonians expressed themelves willing to receive them on their own terms; and ıey were induced to this as well from other consierations, as because the Tyndaridæ[2] had sailed in

1 Herodotus, and the greater part of the ancient writers, most always comprehend the Persians under the name of ledes.—*Larcher.*

2 *Castor and Pollux, so* called from Tyndarus, the husband *their mother Leda.—T.*

the Argo: they accordingly admitted the Minyæ among them, assigned them lands, and distributed them among their tribes. The Minyæ in return parted with the women whom they had brought from Lemnos, and connected themselves in marriage with others.

CXLVI. In a very short time these Minyæ became distinguished for their intemperance, making themselves not only dangerous from their ambition, but odious by their vices. The Lacedæmonians conceived their enormities worthy of death, and accordingly cast them into prison. It is to be remarked that this people always inflict capital punishments by night, never by day. When things were in this situation, the wives of the prisoners, who were natives of the country, and the daughters of the principal citizens, solicited permission to visit their husbands in confinement. As no stratagem was suspected, this was granted. The wives of the Minyæ[1] accordingly entered the prison, and exchanged dresses with their husbands: by this artifice they effected their escape, and again took refuge on Taygetus.

CXLVII. It was about this time that Theras, the son of Autesion, was sent from Lacedæmon to establish a colony. Autesion was the son of Tisamenus, grandson of Thersander, great-grandson of Polynices. This Theras was of the Cadmean family, uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus: during the minority of his nephews the regency of Sparta was confided to him. When his sister's sons grew up, and he was obliged to resign his power, he

1 This story is related at some length by Valerius Maximus, in which he treats of conjugal affection. The same author tells us of Hypsicratea, the beloved wife of Mithridates, who to gratify her husband assumed and constantly wore the habit of a man.—T.

was little inclined to acknowlege superiority where he had been accustomed to exercise it; he therefore refused to remain in Sparta, but determined to join his relations. In the island now called Thera, but formerly Callista, the posterity of Membliares, son of Pœciles the Phœnician, resided; to this place Cadmus, son of Agenor, was driven, when in search of Europa; and either from partiality to the country, or from prejudice of one kind or other, he left there, among other Phœnicians, Membliares his relation. These men inhabited the island of Callista eight years before Theras arrived from Lacedæmon.

CXLVIII. To this people Theras came, with a select number from the different Spartan tribes: he had no hostile views, but a sincere wish to dwell with them on terms of amity. The Minyæ having escaped from prison, and taken refuge on Mount Taygetus, the Lacedæmonians were still determined to put them to death; Theras, however, interceded in their behalf, and engaged to prevail on them to quit their situation. His proposal was accepted, and accordingly, with three vessels of thirty oars, he sailed to join the descendants of Membliares, taking with him only a small number of the Minyæ. The far greater part of them had made an attack on the Paroreatæ, and the Caucons, and expelled them from their country; dividing themselves afterwards into six bodies, they built the same number of towns, namely, Lepreus, Magistus, Thrixas, Pyrgus, Epius, and Nudius: of these, the greater part have in my time been destroyed by the Eleans. The island before mentioned is called Theras, from the name of its founder.

CXLIX. The son of Theras refusing to sail with him, *his father left* him, as he himself observed, a *sheep amongst wolves*; from which saying the young

man got the name of Oiolycus, which he ever afterwards retained. Oiolycus had a son named Ægeus, who gave his name to the Ægidæ, a considerable Spartan tribe, who, finding themselves in danger of leaving no posterity behind them, built, by the direction of the oracle, a shrine to the furies[1] of Laius

1 With a view to the information and amusement of the English reader, I subjoin a few particulars concerning the furies.

They were three in number, the daughters of Night and Acheron: some have added a fourth; their names, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra; their residence in the infernal regions; their office to torment the wicked.

They were worshipped at Athens, and first of all by Orestes, when acquitted by the areopagites of matricide. Æschylus was the first person who represented them as having snakes instead of hair. Their name in heaven was Diræ; on earth they were called Furiæ and Eumenides; their name in the regions below was Stygiæ Canes. The ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, abound with passages descriptive of their attributes and influence: the following animated apostrophe to them is from Æschylus—Mr. Potter's version:

See this grisly troop,
Sleep has oppress'd them, and their baffled rage
Shall fail.—Grim-visaged hags, grown old
In loathed virginity: nor god nor man
Approach'd their bed, nor savage of the wilds;
For they were born for mischiefs, and their haunts
In dreary darkness, 'midst the yawning gulfs
Of Tartarus beneath, by men abhorr'd,
And by the Olympian gods.

After giving the above quotation from Æschylus, it may not be unnecessary to add, that the three whom I have specified by name were only the three principal, or supreme of many furies. Here the furies of Laius and Œdipus are mentioned, because particular furies were, as it seems, supposed ready to avenge the murder of every individual;

Thee may th' Erinnys of thy sons destroy.
Eurip. Medea.

Or the manes themselves became furies for that purpose:

Their shades shall pour their vengeance on thy head.—*Ib.*

Orestes in his madness calls Electra one of his furies; that *is, one of* those which attended to torment him;

and Œdipus; this succeeded to their wish. A circumstance similar to this happened afterwards in the island of Thera to the descendants of this tribe.

CL. Thus far the accounts of the Lacedæmonians and Thereans agree; what follows is related on the authority of the latter only:—Grinus, son of Æsanius, and descended from the above Theras, was prince of the island; he went to Delphi, carrying with him a hecatomb for sacrifice, and accompanied, amongst others of his citizens, by Battus the son of Polymnestus, of the family of Euthymus a Minyan: Grinus, consulting the oracle about something of a different nature, was commanded by the Pythian to build a city in Libya. 'I,' replied the prince, 'am too old and too infirm for such an undertaking; suffer it to devolve on some of these younger persons who accompany me;' at the same time he pointed to Battus. On their return they paid no regard to the injunction of the oracle, being both ignorant of the situation of Libya, and not caring to send from them a colony on so precarious an adventure.

CLI. For seven years after the above event it never rained in Thera; in consequence of which every tree in the place perished, except one. The inhabitants consulted the oracle, when the sending a colony to Libya was again recommended by the Pythian: as therefore no alternative remained, they sent some emissaries into Crete, to inquire whether any of the natives or strangers residing amongst them had ever

Off, let me go: I know thee who thou art,
One of *my* furies, and thou grapplest with me,
To whirl me into Tartarus.—Avaunt!—*Orestes.*

It stands at present in the version *the* furies; which is wrong.

visited Libya. The persons employed on this occasion, after going over the whole island, came at length to the city Itanus, where they became acquainted with a certain dyer of purple, whose name was Corobius: this man informed them that he was once driven by contrary winds into Libya, and had landed there, on the island of Platea: they therefore bargained with him for a certain sum to accompany them to Thera. Very few were induced to leave Thera on this business; they who did go were conducted by Corobius, who was left on the island he had described, with provisions for some months; the rest of the party made their way back by sea as expeditiously as possible, to acquaint the Thereans with the event.

CLII. By their omitting to return at the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the greatest distress: it happened, however, that a Samian vessel, whose commander's name was Colæus, was, in its course towards Egypt, driven on the island of Platea: these Samians, hearing the story of Corobius, left him provisions for a twelvemonth. On leaving this island with a wish to go to Egypt, the winds compelled them to take their course westward, and continuing without intermission, carried them beyond the Columns of Hercules, till, as it should seem by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at Tartessus. As this was a port then but little known, their voyage ultimately proved very advantageous: so that, excepting Sostrates, with whom there can be no competition, no Greeks were ever before so fortunate in any commercial undertaking. With six talents, which was a tenth part of what they gained, the Samians made a brazen vase, in the shape of an *Argolic* goblet, round the brim of which the heads of

griffins[1] were regularly disposed: this was deposited in the temple of Juno, where it is supported by three colossal figures, seven cubits high, resting on their knees. This was the first occasion of the particular intimacy which afterwards subsisted between the Samians and the people of Cyrene and Thera.

CLIII. The Thereans, having left Corobius behind, returned, and informed their countrymen that they had made a settlement in an island belonging to Libya: they, in consequence, determined that from each of their seven cities a select number should be sent, and that if these happened to be brothers, it should be determined by lot who should go; and that finally, Battus should be their prince and leader: they sent accordingly to Platea two ships of fifty oars.

CLIV. With this account, as given by the Thereans, the Cyreneans agree, except in what relates to Battus: here they differ exceedingly, and tell, in contradiction, the following history:—there is a town in Crete, named Oaxus, where Etearchus was once king: having lost his wife, by whom he had a daughter, called Phronima, he married a second time: no sooner did his last wife take possession of his house than she proved herself to Phronima a real step-mother. Not content with injuring her by every species of cruelty and ill-treatment, she at length upbraided her with being unchaste, and persuaded her husband to

1 In a former note on this word I neglected to inform the reader that in Brown's Vulgar Errors there is a chapter on the subject of griffins, very curious and entertaining. This author satisfactorily explains the Greek word gryps to mean no more than a particular kind of eagle or vulture: being compounded of a lion and an eagle, it is a happy emblem of valor and magnanimity, and therefore applicable to princes, *generals, &c.; and from* this it is borne in the coat of arms *of many noble families in* Europe.—*T.*

believe so. Deluded by the artifice of his wife, he perpetrated the following act of barbarity against his daughter: there was at Oaxus a merchant of Thera, whose name was Themison; of him, after showing him the usual rites of hospitality, he exacted an oath that he would comply with whatever he should require; having done this, he delivered him his daughter, ordering him to throw her into the sea. Themison reflected with unfeigned sorrow on the artifice which had been practised on him, and the obligation imposed: he determined, however, what to do: he took the damsel, and having sailed to some distance from land, to fulfil his oath, secured a rope about her, and plunged her into the sea; but he immediately took her out again, and carried her to Thera.

CLV. Here Polymnestus, a Therean of some importance, took Phronima to be his concubine, and after a certain time had by her a son, remarkable for his shrill and stammering voice: his name, as the Thereans and Cyreneans assert, was Battus, but I think it was something else. He was not, I think, called Battus till after his arrival in Libya; he was then so named, either on account of the answer of the oracle, or from the subsequent dignity which he attained. Battus, in the Libyan tongue, signifies a prince; and I should think that the Pythian, foreseeing he was to reign in Libya, distinguished him by this African title. As soon as he grew up he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle concerning the imperfection of his voice: the answer he received was this:

Hence, Battus! of your voice inquire no more;
But found a city on the Libyan shore.

This is the same as if she had said in Greek, 'Inquire no more, O king, concerning your voice.' To this Battus replied; 'O king, I came to you on ac

count of my infirmity of tongue; you in return impose on me an undertaking which is impossible: for how can I, who have neither forces nor money, establish a colony in Libya?' He could not, however, obtain any other answer, which, when he found to be the case, he returned to Thera.

CLVI. Not long afterwards, he, with the rest of the Thereans, were visited by many and great calamities; and not knowing to what cause they should impute them, they sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle on the subject. The Pythian informed them that if they would colonise Cyrene in Libya, under the conduct of Battus, things would certainly go better with them: they accordingly despatched Battus to accomplish this, with two fifty-oared vessels. These men acting from compulsion, set sail for Libya, but soon returned to Thera: but the Thereans forcibly preventing their landing, ordered them to return from whence they came. Thus circumstanced, they again set sail, and founded a city in an island contiguous to Libya, called, as we have before remarked, Platea: this city is said to be equal in size to that in which the Cyreneans now reside.

CLVII. They continued in this place for the space of two years; but finding their ill fortune still pursue them, they again sailed to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, leaving only one of their party behind them: when they desired to know why, having established themselves in Libya, they had experienced no favorable reverse of fortune, the Pythian made them this answer:—

Know'st thou then Libya better than the god,
Whose fertile shores thy feet have never trod?
He who has well explored them thus replies;
I can but wonder at a man so wise!

On hearing this, Battus, and they who were with him, again returned; for the deity still persevered in requiring them to form a settlement in Libya, where they had not yet been: touching therefore at Platea, they took on board him whom they had left, and established their colony in Libya itself. The place they selected was Aziris, immediately opposite to where they had before resided; two sides of which were inclosed by a beautiful range of hills, and a third agreeably watered by a river.

CLVIII. At this place they continued six years; when, at the desire of the Libyans, who promised to conduct them to a better situation, they removed. The Libyans accordingly became their guides, and had so concerted the matter, as to take care that the Greeks should pass through the most beautiful part of their country by night: the direction they took was westward, the name of the country they were not permitted to see was Irasa. They came at length to what is called the fountain of Apollo:—'Men of Greece,' said the Libyans, 'the heavens are here opened to you, and here it will be proper for you to reside.'

CLIX. During the life of Battus, who reigned forty years, and under Arcesilaus his son, who reigned sixteen, the Cyreneans remained in this colony without any alteration with respect to their numbers: but under their third prince, who was also called Battus, and who was surnamed the Happy, the Pythian, by her declarations, excited a general propensity in the Greeks to migrate to Libya, and join themselves to the Cyreneans. The Cyreneans, indeed, had invited them to a share of their possessions, but the oracle had also thus expressed itself:

Who seeks not Libya till the lands are shared,
Let him for sad repentance be prepared.

The Greeks therefore in great numbers settled themselves at Cyrene. The neighboring Libyans with their king Adicran, seeing themselves injuriously deprived of a considerable part of their lands, and exposed to much insulting treatment, made a tender of themselves and their country to Apries, sovereign of Egypt: this prince assembled a numerous army of Egyptians, and sent them to attack Cyrene. The Cyreneans drew themselves up at Irasa, near the fountain Thestis, and in a fixed battle routed the Egyptians, who till now, from their ignorance, had despised the Grecian power. The battle was so decisive, that very few of the Egyptians returned to their country: they were on this account so exasperated against Apries, that they revolted from his authority.

CLX. Arcesilaus, the son of this Battus, succeeded to the throne: he was at first engaged in some contest with his brothers, but they removed themselves from him to another part of Libya, where after some deliberation they founded a city. They called it Barce, which name it still retains. Whilst they were employed on this business they endeavored to excite the Libyans against the Cyreneans. Arcesilaus without hesitation commenced hostilities both against those who had revolted from him, and against the Africans who had received them; intimidated by which, these latter fled to their countrymen who were situated more to the east. Arcesilaus persevered in pursuing them till he arrived at Leucon, and here the Libyans discovered an inclination to try the event of a battle. They accordingly engaged, and the Cyreneans were so effectually routed, that seven thousand of their men in *arms fell in* the field. Arcesilaus after this *calamity fell sick,* and was strangled by his brother

Aliarchus, whilst in the act of taking some medicine. The wife of Arcesilaus, whose name was Eryxo, revenged by some stratagem on his murderer the death of her husband.

CLXI. Arcesilaus was succeeded in his authority by his son Battus, a boy who was lame, and had otherwise an infirmity in his feet. The Cyreneans, afflicted by their recent calamities, sent to Delphi, desiring to know what system of life would most effectually secure their tranquillity. The Pythian in reply, recommended them to procure from Mantinea,[1] in Arcadia, some one to compose their disturbances. Accordingly, at the request of the Cyreneans, the Mantineans sent them Demonax, a man who enjoyed the universal esteem of his countrymen. Arriving at Cyrene, his first care was to make himself acquainted with their affairs; he then divided the people into three distinct tribes: the first comprehended the Thereans and their neighbors; the second the Peloponnesians and Cretans; the third all the inhabitants of the islands. He assigned a certain portion of land, with some distinct privileges, to Battus; but all the other advantages which the kings had before arrogated to themselves he gave to the power of the people.

CLXII. Things remained in this situation during the life of Battus: but in the time of his son an ambitious struggle for power was the occasion of great disturbances. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus by Pheretime, refused to submit to the regulations of Demonax the Mantinean, and demanded to be restored to the dignity of his ancestors. A great tumult

1 *This place* became celebrated by the death of Epami*nondas, the* great Theban general, who was slain here.—T.

ras excited, but the consequence was, that Arcesilaus ras compelled to take refuge at Samos, whilst his nother Pheretime fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Euelhon had at this time the government of Salamis; the ame person who dedicated at Delphi a most beautiful enser, now deposited in the Corinthian treasury. To im Pheretime made application, entreating him to ead an army against Cyrene, for the purpose of retoring her and her son. He made her many presents, ut refused to assist her with an army. Pheretime ccepted his liberality with thanks, but endeavored o convince him that his assisting her with forces rould be much more honorable. On her persevering n this request, after every present she received, Euelhon was at length induced to send her a gold spindle, nd a distaff with wool; observing that for a woman his was a more suitable present than an army.

CLXIII. In the mean time Arcesilaus was indeatigable at Samos; by promising a division of lands, ie assembled a numerous army: he then sailed to)elphi, to make inquiry concerning the event of his eturn. The Pythian made him this answer: 'To our Batti, and to as many of the name of Arcesilaus, Apollo has granted the dominion of Cyrene. Beyond hese eight generations the deity forbids even the ttempt to reign: to you it is recommended to return, nd live tranquilly at home. If you happen to find a urnace filled with earthen vessels, do not suffer them o be baked, but throw them into the air: if you set ire to the furnace, beware of entering a place surounded by water. If you disregard this injunction, rou will perish yourself, as will also a very beautiful)ull.'

CLXIV. *The Pythian* made this reply to Arcesi-*us: he however* returned to Cyrene with the forces

he had raised at Samos; and having recovered his authority, thought no more of the oracle. He proceeded to institute a persecution against those who, taking up arms against him, had compelled him to fly. Some of these sought and found a refuge in exile, others were taken into custody and sent to Cyprus, to undergo the punishment of death. These the Cnidians delivered, for they touched at their island in their passage, and they were afterwards transported to Thera: a number of them fled to a large tower, the property of an individual named Aglomachus; but Arcesilaus destroyed them, tower and all, by fire. No sooner had he perpetrated this deed than he remembered the declaration of the oracle, which forbade him to set fire to a furnace filled with earthen vessels: fearing therefore to suffer for what he had done, he retired from Cyrene, which place he considered as surrounded by water. He had married a relation, the daughter of Alazir, king of Barce; to him therefore he went; but on his appearing in public, the Barceans, in conjunction with some Cyrenean fugitives, put him to death, together with Alazir his father-in-law. Such was the fate of Arcesilaus, he having, designedly or from accident, violated the injunctions of the oracle.

CLXV. Whilst the son was thus hastening his destiny at Barce Pheretime, his mother, enjoyed at Cyrene the supreme authority; and amongst other regal acts, presided in the senate. But as soon as she received intelligence of the death of Arcesilaus she sought refuge in Egypt. Her son had some claims on the liberality of Cambyses, son of Cyrus; he had delivered Cyrene into his power, and paid him tribute. On her arrival in Egypt she presented herself before Aryandes in the character of a suppliant, and be-

ught him to revenge her cause, pretending that her n had lost his life, merely on account of his attachent to the Medes.

CLXVI. This Aryandes had been appointed præfect f Egypt by Cambyses; but afterwards, presuming to val Darius, he was by him put to death. He had eard, and indeed he had seen, that Darius was derous to leave some monument of himself, which ould exceed all the efforts of his predecessors. He ought proper to attempt somewhat similar, but it st him his life. Darius had issued a coin[1] of the ery purest gold; the præfect of Egypt issued one of e purest silver, and called it an Aryandic. It may ill be seen, and is much admired for its purity. Daus hearing of this, condemned him to death, preending that he had rebelled against him.

CLXVII. At this time Aryandes, taking compassion n Pheretime, delivered to her command all the land nd sea forces of Egypt. To Amasis, a Maraphian,

1 'About the same time seem to have been coined those mous pieces of gold called Darics, which by reason of their neness were for several ages preferred before all other coin roughout the East: for we are told that the author of this in was not Darius Hystaspes, as some have imagined, but more ancient Darius. But there is no ancienter Darius entioned to have reigned in the East, excepting only this arius, whom the Scripture calls Darius the Median; and erefore it is most likely he was the author of this coin, and at during the two years that he reigned at Babylon, while yrus was absent on his Syrian, Egyptian, and other expeitions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity f gold which had been brought thither into the treasury; om hence it became dispersed all over the East, and also ito Greece, where it was of great reputation; according to r. Bernard, it weighed two grains more than one of our uineas; but the fineness added much more to its value; for was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least ery little alloy *in it; and therefore* may be well reckoned as e *proportion of gold* and silver now stands with us, to be rth *twenty-five shillings* of our money.'—*Prideaux.*

he intrusted the conduct of the army; and Badre, a Pasargadian by birth, had the direction of the fleet. Before however they proceeded on any expedition a herald was despatched to Barce, demanding the name of the person who had assassinated Arcesilaus. The Barceans replied, that they were equally concerned, for he had repeatedly injured them all. Having received this answer, Aryandes permitted his forces to proceed with Pheretime.

CLXVIII. This was the pretence with Aryandes for commencing hostilities; but I am rather inclined to think that he had the subjection of the Libyans in view. The nations of Libya are many and various; few of them had ever submitted to Darius, and most of them held him in contempt. Beginning from Egypt, the Libyans are to be enumerated in the order following:—The first are the Adyrmachidæ; whose manners are in every respect Egyptian; their dress Libyan. On each leg their wives wear a ring of brass. They suffer their hair to grow: if they catch any fleas on their bodies, they first bite and then throw them away. They are the only people of Libya who do this. It is also peculiar to them to present their daughters to the king just before their marriage. The Adyrmachidæ occupy the country between Egypt and the port of Pleunos.

CLXIX. Next to these are the Giligammæ, who dwell towards the west as far as the island of Aphrodisias. In the midst of this region is the island of Platea, which the Cyreneans colonised. The harbor of Menelaus and Aziris, possessed also by the Cyreneans, is on the continent. Silphium begins where *these* terminate, and is continued from Platea to the *mouth* of the Syrtes. The manners of these people *nearly* resemble those of their neighbors.

CLXX. From the west, and immediately next to the Giligammæ, are the Asbystæ. They are above Cyrene, but have no communication with the sea-coasts, which are occupied by the Cyreneans. They are beyond all the Libyans remarkable for their use of chariots drawn by four horses; and in most respects they imitate the manners of the Cyreneans.

CLXXI. On the western borders of this people dwell the Auschisæ: their district commences above Barce, and is continued to the sea, near the Euesperides. The Cabales, an inconsiderable nation, inhabit towards the centre of the Auschisæ, and extend themselves to the sea-coast near Tauchira, a town belonging to Barce. The Cabales have the same customs as the people beyond Cyrene.

CLXXII. The powerful nation of the Nasamones border on the Auschisæ towards the west. This people, during the summer season, leave their cattle on the sea-coast, and go up the country to a place called Augila to gather dates. On this spot the palms are equally numerous, large, and fruitful: they also hunt for locusts; which, having dried in the sun, they reduce to a powder, and eat mixed with milk. Each person is allowed to have several wives, with whom they cohabit in the manner of the Massagetæ; first fixing a staff in the earth before their tent. When the Nasamones marry, the bride always permits every one of the guests to kiss her, each of whom makes her a present brought with him for the purpose. Their mode of divination and of taking an oath is this: they place their hands on the tombs of those who have been most eminent for their integrity and virtue, and swear by their names. When they exercise divination they approach the monuments of their ancestors, and there, having said their prayers, compose them-

selves to sleep. They regulate their subsequ duct by such visions as they may then have. they pledge their word they drink alternat each other's hands.[1] If no liquid is near tl some dust from the ground, and lick it wi tongue.

CLXXIII. Next to the Nasamones are the who formerly perished by the following acci south wind had dried up all their reservoirs; whole country, as far as the Syrtes, was des water. They resolved, accordingly, after a consultation, to make a hostile expedition aga south wind; the consequence was (I only rel the Africans inform me) that on their arriva

1 The ancient ceremony of the Nasamones to dr each other's hands, in pledging their faith, is at th period the only ceremony observed in the marriag Algerines.—*Shaw*.

2 A measure like this would have been prepost the extreme. Herodotus therefore does not credi only relate,' says he, 'what the Africans inform m are the terms always used by our historian when he nicates any dubious matter. It seems very probable Nasamones destroyed the Psylli to possess their cou that they circulated this fable amongst their neighb Pliny, book vii. chap. 2.—*Larcher*.

Herodotus makes no mention of the quality whi people possessed, and which in subsequent times i them so celebrated, that of managing serpents w wonderful dexterity.

See also Savary, vol. i. p. 63.

'You are acquainted with the Psylli, those celebr pent eaters of antiquity, who sported with the bite o and the credulity of the people. Many of them i Cyrene, a city west of Alexandria, and formerly de on Egypt. You know the pitiful vanity of Octav wished the captive Cleopatra should grace his tr car; and, chagrined to see that proud woman escape l commanded one of the Psylli to suck the wound t had made. Fruitless were his efforts; the poison verted the whole mass of blood, nor could the art of restore her to life.'

deserts the south wind overwhelmed them beneath the sands. The Psylli being thus destroyed the Nasamones took possession of their lands.

CLXXIV. Beyond these, southward, in a country infested by savage beasts, dwell the Garamantes, who avoid every kind of communication with men, are ignorant of the use of all military weapons, and totally unable to defend themselves.

CLXXV. These people live beyond the Nasamones; but towards the sea-coast, westward, are the Macæ. It is the custom of this people to leave a tuft of hair in the centre of the head, carefully shaving the rest. When they make war their only coverings are the skins of ostriches. The river Cinyps rises amongst these in a hill, said to be sacred to the Graces, whence it continues its course to the sea. This hill of the Graces is well covered with trees; whereas the rest of Africa, as I have before observed, is very barren of wood. The distance from the hill to the sea is two hundred stadia.

CLXXVI. The Gindanes are next to the Macæ. Of the wives of this people it is said that they wear round their ancles as many bandages as they have had lovers. The more of these each possesses the more she is esteemed, as having been beloved by the greater number of the other sex.

CLXXVII. The neck of land which stretches from the country of the Gindanes towards the sea is possessed by the Lotophagi, who live intirely on the fruit of the lotos. The lotos is of the size of the mastic, and sweet like the date; and the Lotophagi make of it a kind of wine.

CLXXVIII. Towards the sea the Machlyes border on the *Lotophagi. They* also feed on the lotos, though *not so intirely as their* neighbors. They extend as far

as a great stream called the Triton, which enters into an extensive lake named Tritonis, in which is the island of Phla. An oracular declaration, they say, had foretold that some Lacedæmonians should settle themselves here.

CLXXIX. The particulars are these: when Jason had constructed the Argo at the foot of Mount Pelion he carried on board a hecatomb for sacrifice, with a brazen tripod: he sailed round the Peloponnesus with the intention to visit Delphi. As he approached Malea a north wind drove him to the African coast;[1] and before he could discover land he got amongst the shallows of the lake Tritonis: not being able to extricate himself from this situation, a Triton is said to have appeared to him, and to have promised him a secure and easy passage, provided he would give him the tripod. To this Jason assented; and the Triton having fulfilled his engagement, he placed the tripod in his temple, from whence he communicated to Jason and his companions what was afterwards to happen. Amongst other things, he said, that whenever a descendant of these Argonauts should take away this tripod there would be infallibly an hundred Grecian cities near the lake of Tritonis. The Africans, hearing this prediction, are said to have concealed the tripod.

CLXXX. Next to the Machlyes live the Ausenses.

1 'Some references to the Argonautic expedition,' says Mr. Bryant, 'are interspersed in most of the writings of the ancients, but there is scarce a circumstance concerning it in which they are agreed. In respect to the first setting out of the Argo, most make it pass northward to Lemnos and the Hellespont; but Herodotus says that Jason first sailed towards Delphi, and was carried to the Syrtic sea of Libya, and *then* pursued his voyage to the Euxine. Neither can the era of the expedition be settled without running into many difficulties.'—See the *Analysis*, vol. ii. 491.

The above two nations inhabit the opposite sides of Lake Tritonis. The Machlyes suffer their hair to grow behind the head; the Ausenses before. They have an annual festival in honor of Minerva, in which the young women, dividing themselves into two separate bands, engage each other with stones and clubs. These rites, they say, were instituted by their forefathers, in veneration of her whom we call Minerva; and if any one die in consequence of wounds received in this contest, they say that she was no virgin. Before the conclusion of the fight they observe this custom: she who by common consent fought the best has a Corinthian helmet placed on her head, is clothed in Grecian armor, and carried in a chariot round the lake. How the virgins were decorated in this solemnity, before they had any knowlege of the Greeks, I am not able to say; probably they might use Egyptian arms. We may venture to affirm that the Greeks borrowed from Egypt the shield and the helmet. It is pretended that Minerva was the daughter of Neptune, and the divinity of the lake Tritonis; and that from some trifling disagreement with her father she put herself under the protection of Jupiter, who afterwards adopted her as his daughter. Every three months the men hold a public assembly; before which each woman who has had a strong healthy boy produces him, and the man whom he most resembles is considered as his father.

CLXXXI. The Africans who inhabit the sea-coast are termed Nomades. The more inland parts of Africa, beyond these, abound with wild beasts; remoter still is one vast sandy desert, from the Egyptian Thebes to the Columns of Hercules.[1] Penetrating this desert to

1 In a former note on the Columns of Hercules I omitted to

the space of a ten days' journey, vast pillars of salt are discovered; from the summits of which flows a stream of water, equally cool and sweet. This district is possessed by the last of those who inhabit the deserts beyond the centre and ruder part of Africa. The Ammonians, who possess the temple of the Theban Jupiter, are the people nearest from this place to Thebes, from which they are distant a ten days' journey. There is an image of Jupiter at Thebes, as I have before remarked, with the head of a goat. The Ammonians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm, as the day advances it chills, and at noon becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines its coldness diminishes; at sunset it is again warm, and its warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is called the fountain of the sun.[1]

CLXXXII. Passing onward beyond the Ammonians into the desert for ten days more, another hill of salt[2] occurs; it resembles that which is found

mention that more anciently, according to Ælian, these were called the Columns of Briareus. This is also mentioned by Aristotle. But when Hercules had, by the destruction of various monsters, rendered essential service to mankind, they were, out of honor to his memory, named the Columns of Hercules.—*T.*

1 Diodorus Siculus describes this fountain nearly in the same terms with Herodotus. Herodotus does not tell us that the Ammonians venerated this fountain; but as they called it the fountain of the sun, it is probable that they did. In remoter times, men almost universally worshipped streams and fountains, if distinguished by any peculiar properties: all *fountains* were originally dedicated to the sun, as to the first *principle of* motion.—*T.*

2 I find the following description of the plain of salt, in

amongst the Ammonians, and has a spring of water: the place is inhabited, and called Augila, and here the Nasamones come to gather their dates.

CLXXXIII. At another ten days' distance from the Augilæ there is another hill of salt with water, as well as a great number of palms, which like those before described are exceedingly productive: this place is inhabited by the numerous nation of the Garamantes; they cover the beds of salt with earth, and then plant it. From them to the Lotophagi is a very short distance; but from these latter it is a journey of thirty days to that nation among whom is a species of oxen which walk backwards whilst they are feeding: their horns[1] are so formed that they cannot do otherwise; they are before so long, and curved in such a manner, that if they did not recede as they fed they would stick in the ground: in other respects they do not differ from other animals of the same genus, unless we except the thickness of their skins. These Garamantes, sitting in carriages drawn by four horses, give chase to the Ethiopian Troglodytæ,[2] who, of all the

Abyssinia, in Lobo's Voyage: 'These plains are surrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds, which the sun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into salt. Nothing can be more curious than to see the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock, so exact, and of such admirable contrivance, that they seem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyssinia are continually resorting, to carry salt into all parts of the empire, which they set a great value on, and which in their country is of the same use as money.'

1 In the British Museum is a pair of horns six feet six inches and a half long; it weighs twenty-one pounds, and the hollow will contain five quarts: Lobo mentions some in Abyssinia which would hold ten; Dallon saw some in India ten feet long: they are *sometimes* wrinkled, but often smooth.—*Pennant.*

2 *These people Pliny* says were swifter than horses; and

people in the world of whom we have ever heard, are far the swiftest of foot: their food is lizards, serpents, and other reptiles; their language bears no resemblance to that of any other nation, for it is like the screaming of bats.

CLXXXIV. From the Garamantes it is another ten days' journey to the Atlantes, where also is a hill of salt with water. Of all mankind of whom we have any knowlege, the Atlantes alone have no distinction of names; the body of the people are termed Atlantes, but their individuals have no appropriate appellation: when the sun is at the highest they heap on it reproaches and execrations, because their country and themselves are parched by its rays. At the same distance onward, of a ten days' march, another hill of salt occurs, with water and inhabitants: near this hill stands Mount Atlas, which at every approach is uniformly round and steep: it is so lofty that, on account of the clouds which in summer as well as winter envelope it, its summit can never be discerned; it is called by the inhabitants a pillar of heaven. From this mountain the people take their name of Atlantes: it is said of them that they never feed on any thing which has life, and that they know not what it is to dream.

CLXXXV. I am able to call by name all the different nations as far as the Atlantes; beyond these I have no knowlege. There is, however, from hence, an habitable country, as far as the Columns of Hercules, and even beyond it. At the regular interval of ten days' journey there is a bed of salt, and inhabitants

Mela relates the circumstance of their feeding on reptiles. I may very properly add in this place, that one of the most *entertaining* and ingenious fictions that was ever invented is *the account* given by Montesquieu in his Persian Letters of *the Troglodytes.—T.*

whose houses are formed from masses of salt.[1] In this part of Libya it never rains; for if it did these structures of salt could not be durable: they have here two sorts of salt, white and purple.[2] Beyond this sandy desert, southward, to the interior parts of Libya, there is a vast and horrid space without water, wood, or beasts, and totally destitute of moisture.

CLXXXVI. Thus from Egypt, as far as Lake Tritonis, the Libyans lead a pastoral life, living on flesh and milk; but, like the Egyptians, will neither eat bull's flesh nor breed swine. The women of Cyrene also esteem it impious to touch an heifer, on account of the Egyptian Isis, in whose honor they solemnly observe both fast-days and festivals. The women of Barce abstain not only from the flesh of heifers but of swine.

CLXXXVII. The Libyans, to the west of Lake Tritonis, are not shepherds; they are distinguished by different manners; neither do they observe the same ceremonies with respect to their children. The greater number of these Libyan shepherds follow the custom I am about to describe, though I will not say it is the

1 Gerrha, a town on the Persian Gulf, inhabited by the exiled Chaldeans, was built of salt: the salt of the mountain Had-deffa, near Lake Marks, in Africa, is hard and solid as a stone.—*Larcher*.

2 Had-deffa is a mountain intirely of salt, situate at the eastern extremity of Lake Marks, or Lake Tritonis of the ancients: this salt is intirely different from salts in general, being hard and solid as a stone, and of a red or violet color: the salt which the dew dissolves from the mountain changes its color, and becomes white as snow; it loses also the bitterness which is the property of rock salt.—*See Shaw's Travels.*

One of the most curious phenomena in the circle of natural history is the celebrated salt-mine of Wielitska in Poland, so well described by Coxe: the salt dug from this mine is *called green salt; 'I know* not,' says Mr. Coxe, 'for what *reason, for its color is* an iron-grey.'—*See* Travels into Poland.

case indiscriminately with them all:—as soon as their children arrive at the age of four years they burn the veins either of the top of the skull or of the temples, with uncleansed wool: they are of opinion that by this process all watery humors are prevented:[1] to this they impute the excellent health which they enjoy. It must be acknowleged, whatever may be the cause, that the Libyans are more exempt from disease than any other men. If the operation throws the children into convulsions they have a remedy at hand; they sprinkle them with goats' milk, and they recover.—I relate what the Libyans themselves affirm.

CLXXXVIII. As to their mode of sacrifice, having cut the ear of the victim which they intend as an offering for their first-fruits, they throw it over the top of their dwelling, and afterwards break its neck: the only deities to whom they sacrifice are the sun and moon, who are adored by all the Libyans; they who live near Lake Tritonis venerate Triton, Neptune, and Minerva, but particularly the last.

CLXXXIX. From these Libyans the Greeks borrowed the vest, and the ægis, with which they decorate the shrine of Minerva: the vests, however, of the Libyan Minervas are made of skin; and the fringe hanging from the ægis is not composed of serpents, but of leather; in every other respect the dress is the same: it appears by the very name that the robe of the statues of Minerva was borrowed from Libya.

1 According to Hippocrates, the Scythians apply fire to their shoulders, arms, and stomachs, on account of the humid and relaxed state of their bodies: this operation dries up the excess of moisture about the joints, and renders them more free and active. Wesseling remarks, from Scaliger, that this custom still prevails amongst the Ethiopian Christians, Mahometans, and Heathens.—Larcher.

The women[1] of this country wear below their garments goat-skins, without the hair, fringed, and stained of a red color; from which part of dress the word ægis of the Greeks is unquestionably derived. I am also inclined to believe that the loud cries which are uttered in the temples of that goddess have the same origin: the Libyan women do this very much, but not disagreeably. From Libya also the Greeks borrowed the custom of harnessing four horses to a carriage.

CXC. These Libyan Nomades observe the same ceremonies with the Greeks in the interment of the dead: we must except the Nasamones, who bury their deceased in a sitting attitude, and are particularly careful, as any one approaches his end, to prevent his expiring in a reclined posture. Their dwellings are easily movable, and are formed of the asphodel shrub, secured with rushes. Such are the manners of these people.

CXCI. The Ausenses, on the western part of the river Triton, border on those Libyans who cultivate the earth and have houses; they are called Maxyes: these people suffer their hair to grow on the right side of the head, but not on the left; they stain their bodies with vermilion, and pretend to be descended from the Trojans. This region, and indeed all the more western parts of Libya, is much more woody, and more infested with wild beasts, than where the Libyan Nomades reside; for the abode of these latter, advancing eastward, is low and sandy. From hence,

1 Apollonius Rhodius, who was an exact observer of manners, thus describes the three Libyan heroines who appeared to Jason.—See Fawkes' version:

> Attend, my friends:—Three virgin forms, who claim
> From heaven their race, to sooth my sorrows came;
> *Their shoulders round* were shaggy goat-skins cast,
> *Which low descending* girt their slender waist.

westward, where those inhabit who till the ground, it is mountainous, full of wood, and abounding with wild beasts: here are found serpents of an enormous size, lions, elephants, bears,[1] asps, and asses with horns. Here are also the Cynocephali, as well as the Acephali;[2] who, if the Libyans may be credited, have

1 Pliny pretends that Africa does not produce bears, although he gives us the annals of Rome, testifying that in the consulship of M. Piso, and M. Messala, Domitius Ænobarbus gave during his ædileship public games, in which were an hundred Numidian bears.

Lipsius affirms that the beasts produced in the games of Ænobarbus were lions, which is the animal also meant by the Lybistis ursa of Virgil: 'The first time,' says he, 'that the Romans saw lions, they did not call them lions, but bears.' Virgil mentions lions by its appropriate name in an hundred places; Shaw also enumerates bears amongst the animals which he met in Africa.—*Larcher.*

2 Herodotus mentions a nation of this name in Libya, and speaks of them as a race of men with the heads of dogs. Hard by, in the neighborhood of this people, he places the Acephali, men with no heads at all; to whom, out of humanity, and to obviate some very natural distresses, he gives eyes in the breast; but he seems to have forgot mouth and ears, and makes no mention of a nose. Both these and the Cynocephali were denominated from their places of residence, and from their worship; the one from Cahen-Caph-El, the other from Ac-Caph-El, each of which appellations is of the same import, 'the right noble or sacred rock of the sun.'—*Bryant.*

The Cynocephali, whom the Africans considered as men with the heads of dogs, were a species of baboons, remarkable for their boldness and ferocity. As to the Acephali, St. Augustin assures us that he had seen them himself of both sexes. That holy father would have done well to have considered, that in pretending to be eye-witness of such a fable he threw a stain on the veracity of his other works. If there really be a nation in Africa which appear to be without a head, I can give no better account of the phenomenon than by copying the ingenious author of 'Philosophic Researches concerning the Americans.'

'There is,' says he, 'in Cinabar, a race of savages who *have hardly* any neck, and whose shoulders reach up to the *ears. This* monstrous appearance is artificial; and to give it *to their children*, they put enormous weights on their heads,

their eyes in their breasts; they have, moreover, men and women who are wild and savage; and many ferocious animals whose existence cannot be disputed.[1]

CXCII. Of the animals above mentioned none are found amongst the Libyan Nomades; they have, however, pygargi,[2] goats, buffaloes, and asses; not of that species which have horns, but a particular kind which

so as to make the vertebræ of the neck enter (if we may so say) the channel-bone (clavicule). These barbarians, from a distance, seem to have their mouth in the breast, and might well enough, in ignorant or enthusiastic travellers, serve to revive the fable of the Acephali, or men without heads.'—The above note is from Larcher; who also adds the following remark on the preceding note which I have given from Mr. Bryant.

Mr. Bryant, imagining that these people called themselves Acephali, decomposes the word, which is purely Greek, and makes it come from the Egyptian Ac-Caph-El, which he interprets 'the sacred rock of the sun.' The same author, with as much reason, pretends that Cynocephali comes from Cahĕn-Caph-El, to which he assigns a similar interpretation: here, to me at least, there seems a vast deal of erudition intirely thrown away.

In the fifth century the name of Acephali was given to a considerable faction of the Monophysites, or Eutychians, who by the submission of Mongus were deprived of their leader. —*T.*

Apollonius Rhodius calls these people half dogs; and it is not improbable that the circumstance that they lived intirely by the produce of the chase might give rise to the fable of their having the heads of dogs.—*T.*

1 We may, I think, fairly infer from this expression that Herodotus gave no credit to the stories of the Cynocephali and Acephali.

2 Aristotle classes the pygargus amongst the birds of prey; but as Herodotus in this place speaks only of quadrupeds, it is probable that this also was one. Hardouin makes it a species of goat.—Thus far Larcher. Ælian also ranks it amongst the quadrupeds, and speaks of its being a very timid animal.

See also Deuteronomy: 'The hart and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and *the chamois.*'

It is without doubt the white antelope, which is very common *at the Cape.*

never drink. They have also oryxes[1] of the size of an ox, whose horns are used by the Phœnicians to make the sides of their citharæ. In this region, likewise, there are bassaria,[2] hyenas, porcupines, wild boars, dictyes, thoes,[3] panthers, boryes, land crocodiles[4] three cubits long, resembling lizards, ostriches, and small serpents, having each a single horn. Besides these animals they have such as are elsewhere found,

1 Pliny describes this animal as having but one horn; Oppian, who had seen it, says the contrary. Aristotle classes it with the animals having but one horn. Bochart thinks it was the aram, a species of gazelle; but Oppian describes the oryx as a very fierce animal.—The above is from *Larcher*.

That it was an animal well known and very common in Africa, is most certain; but unless it be what Pennant describes under the name of the leucoryx, or white antelope, I confess I know not what name to give it.—*T*.

2 Ælian makes no mention of this animal, at least under this name. Larcher interprets it foxes, and refers the reader to the article βασσαρις, in Hesychius, which we learn was the name which the people of Cyrene gave to the fox.—*T*.

3 Larcher is of opinion that this is the beast which we call a jackal, which he thinks is derived from the Arabian word *chatall*. He believes that the idea of the jackal's being the lion's provider is universally credited in this country: but this is not true. The science of natural history is too well and too successfully cultivated amongst us to admit of such an error, except with the most ignorant. I subjoin what Shaw says on this subject.

The black cat (scyah ghush) and the jackal are generally supposed to find out provisions or prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's provider; yet it may very much be doubted whether there is any such friendly intercourse between them. In the night, indeed, when all the beasts of the forest do move, these, as well as others, are prowling after sustenance; and when the sun ariseth, and the lion getteth himself away to his den, both the black cat and the jackal have been often found gnawing such carcasses as the lion is supposed to have fed on the night before. This, and the promiscuous noise which I have heard the jackal particularly make with the lion, are the only circumstances I am acquainted with in favor of this opinion.—T.

4 So called in contradistinction from the river crocodile.—T.

except the stag and the boar,[1] which are never seen in Africa. They have also three distinct species of mice, some of which are called dipodes,[2] others are called zegeries, which in the African tongue has the same meaning with the Greek word for hills. The other species is called the echines. There is moreover to be seen a kind of weazel in Silphium, very much like that of Tartessus. The above are all the animals amongst the Libyan Nomades which my most diligent researches have enabled me to discover.

CXCIII. Next to the Maxyes are the Zaueces, whose women guide the chariots of war.

CXCIV. The people next in order are the Zygantes, amongst whom a great abundance of honey is found, the produce of their bees: but of this they say a great deal more is made by the natives.[3] They all stain

1 This animal must have been carried to Africa since the time of Herodotus, for it is now found there: according to Shaw, it is the chief food and prey of the lion, against which it has sometimes been known to defend itself with so much bravery, that the victory has declined to neither side, the carcasses of them both having been found lying the one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces.—*Shaw.*

2 Shaw is of opinion that this is the jerboa of Barbary. 'That remarkable disproportion,' observes this writer, 'betwixt the fore and hinder legs of the jerboa, though I never saw them run, but only stand or rest themselves on the latter, may induce us to take it for one of the two-footed rats, which Herodotus and other writers describe as the inhabitants of these countries, particularly of the province of Silphium.'—*History of An.* p. 427. No. 291.

3 'I do not see,' says Reiske on this passage, 'how men can possibly make honey. They may collect, clarify, and prepare it by various processes for use, but the bees must first have made it.'

I confess I see no such great difficulty in the above. There were various kinds of honey,—honey of bees, honey of the palm, and honey of sugar, not to mention honey of grapes; all the last of *which might be* made by the industry of man.—T.

their bodies with vermilion, and feed on monkies, with which animal their mountains abound.

CXCV. According to the Carthaginians we next meet with an island called Cyranis, two hundred stadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is easy, and it abounds with olives and vines. Here is a lake, from which the young women of the island draw up gold dust with bunches of feathers besmeared with pitch. For the truth of this I will not answer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it seems the more probable, after having seen at Zacynthus[1] pitch drawn from the bottom of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largest of which is seventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two orgyiæ. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a

1. The modern name of this place is Zante. Its tar-springs, to use the words of Chandler, are still a natural curiosity deserving notice.

The tar is produced in a valley about two hours from the town, by the sea, and encompassed with mountains, except toward the bay, in which are a couple of rocky islets. The spring which is most distinct and apt for inspection, rises on the farther side near the foot of the hill. The well is circular, and four or five feet in diameter. A shining film, like oil mixed with scum, swims on the top: you remove this with a bough, and see the tar at the bottom, three or four feet beneath the surface, working up, it is said, out of a fissure in the rock; the bubbles swelling gradually to the size of a large cannon-ball, when they burst, and the sides leisurely sinking, new ones succeed, increase, and in turn subside. The water is limpid, and runs off with a smart current: the ground near is quaggy, and will shake beneath the feet, but is cultivated. We filled some vessels with tar, by letting it trickle into them from the boughs which we immersed, and this is the method used to gather it from time to time into pits, where it is hardened by the sun, to be barrelled when the quantity is sufficient. The odor reaches a considerable way.—See *Chandler's Travels.*

:h of myrtle; the pitch attaches itself to the myrtle, is thus procured. It has a bituminous smell, but other respects preferable to that of Pieria.[1] The ı is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpose he side of the lake; and when a sufficient quantity been obtained they put it up in casks. Whatever into the lake passes under ground, and is again in the sea at the distance of four stadia from the . Thus what is related of this island contiguous ibya seems both consistent and probable.

XCVI. We have the same authority of the Car- ;inians to affirm, that beyond the Columns of Her- s there is a country inhabited by a people with m they have had commercial intercourse.[2] It is r custom, on arriving amongst them, to unload

This was highly esteemed. Didymus says that the an- ts considered that as the best which came from Mount ; and next to this the tar which came from Pieria. Pliny the same.—*Larcher.*

[t must be mentioned, to the honor of the western Moors, they still continue to carry on a trade with some barba- nations bordering on the river Niger, without seeing persons they trade with, or without having once broke ugh that original charter of commerce which from time emorial has been settled between them. The method is : at a certain time of the year, in the winter, if I am mistaken, they make this journey in a numerous caravan, ying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of ı, knives, scissars, and such like trinkets. When they re at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the n, they find in the evening several different heaps of .-dust lying at a small distance from each other, against ch the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they ;e will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians next morning approve of the bargain, they take up the kets and leave the gold-dust, or else make some deduc- from the latter. In this manner they transact their ex- ıge without seeing one another, or without the least ance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either side.— *v.*

their vessels, and dispose their goods along the This done they again embark, and make a great from on board. The natives, seeing this, com immediately to the shore; and, placing a quan gold by way of exchange for the merchandise, The Carthaginians then land a second time, they think the gold equivalent, they take it a part; if not, they again go on board their The inhabitants return and add more gold crews are satisfied. The whole is conducted w strictest integrity; for neither will the one to gold till they have left an adequate value in m dise, nor will the other remove the goods till tl thaginians have taken away the gold.

CXCVII. Such are the people of Libya names I am able to ascertain; of whom the part cared but little for the king of the Medes, do they now. Speaking with all the precisio able, the country I have been describing is in by four nations only: of these, two are nati two strangers. The natives are the Libyans an opians; one of whom possess the northern, th the southern parts of Africa. The strangers Phœnicians and the Greeks.

CXCVIII. If we except the district of which bears the name of the river flowing thro Libya in goodness of soil cannot, I think, be co either to Asia or Europe. Cinyps is totally un rest of Libya, but is equal to any country in th for its corn. It is of a black soil, abounding in and never troubled with drought. It rains part of Libya; but the rains, though viole never injurious. The produce of corn is not ex by Babylon itself. The country also of the E ridæ is remarkably fertile: in one of its y

years it produces an hundred fold; that of Cinyps three hundred fold.

CXCIX. Of the part of Libya possessed by the Nomades the district of Cyrene is the most elevated. They have three seasons, which well deserve admiration: the harvest and the vintage first commence on the sea-coast; when these are finished those immediately contiguous, advancing up the country, are ready; this region they call Buni. When the requisite labor has been here finished, the corn and the vines in the more elevated parts are found to ripen in progression, and will then require to be cut. By the time therefore that the first produce of the earth is consumed the last will be ready. Thus for eight months in the year the Cyreneans are employed in reaping the produce of their lands.

CC. The Persians who were sent by Aryandes to avenge the cause of Pheretime, proceeding from Egypt to Barce, laid siege to the place, having first required the persons of those who had been accessary to the death of Arcesilaus. To this the inhabitants, who had all been equally concerned in destroying him, paid no attention. The Persians, after continuing nine months before the place, carried their mines to the walls, and made a very vigorous attack. Their mines were discovered by a smith, by means of a brazen shield. He made a circuit of the town: where there were no miners beneath, the shield did not reverberate, which it did wherever they were at work. The Barceans therefore dug counter-mines, and slew the Persians so employed. Every attempt to storm the place was vigorously defeated by the besieged.

CCI. After a long time had been thus consumed with considerable slaughter on both sides (as many *being killed of the Persians* as of their adversaries)

Amasis, the leader of the infantry, employed the lowing stratagem :—being convinced that the Barce were not to be overcome by any open attacks, he s in the night a large and deep trench: the surfac this he covered with some slight pieces of wood, placing earth over the whole, the ground had formly the same appearance. At the dawn of morning he invited the Barceans to a conference; willingly assented, being very desirous to com terms. Accordingly they entered into a treaty which these were the conditions: it was to rei valid as long as the earth on which the agreement made should retain its present appearance. The ceans were to pay the Persian monarch a certain sonable tribute; and the Persians engaged thems to undertake nothing in future to the detriment o Barceans. Relying on these engagements, the ceans, without hesitation, threw open the gates of city; going out and in themselves without fear of sequences, and permitting without restraint suc the enemy as pleased to come within their walls. Persians, withdrawing the artificial support of earth where they had sunk a trench, entered the in crowds; they imagined by this artifice that had fulfilled all they had undertaken, and were bro back to the situation in which they were mutuall fore: for, in reality, this support of the earth taken away, the oath they had taken became void

CCII. The Persians seized and surrendered t power of Pheretime such of the Barceans as had instrumental in the death of her son. These she cified on different parts of the walls; she cut of the breasts of their wives, and suspended them *similar* situation. She permitted the Persia *plunder* the rest of the Barceans, except the Bat

and those who were not concerned in the murder. These she suffered to retain their situations and property.

CCIII. The rest of the Barceans being reduced to servitude, the Persians returned home. Arriving at Cyrene, the inhabitants of that place granted them a free passage through their territories, from reverence to some oracle. Whilst they were on their passage Bares, commander of the fleet, solicited them to plunder Cyrene; which was opposed by Amasis, leader of the infantry, who urged that their orders were only against Barce. When, passing Cyrene, they had arrived at the hill of the Lycean Jupiter,[1] they expressed regret at not having plundered it. They accordingly returned, and endeavored a second time to enter the place, but the Cyreneans would not suffer them. Although no one attempted to attack them, the Persians were seized with such a panic, that returning in haste, they encamped at the distance of about sixty stadia from the city. Whilst they remained here a messenger came from Aryandes, ordering them to return. On this the Persians made application to the Cyreneans for a supply of provisions; which being granted, they returned to Egypt. In their march they were incessantly harassed by the Libyans for the sake of their clothes and utensils. In their progress to Egypt whoever was surprised or left behind was instantly put to death.

CCIV. The farthest progress of this Persian army was to the country of the Euesperidæ. Their Barcean captives they carried with them from Egypt to King Darius, who assigned them for their residence a

1 Lycaon erected a temple to Jupiter in Parrhasia, and instituted *games in his honor.* No one was permitted to enter *this temple; he who did* was stoned.—*Larcher.*

portion of land in the Bactrian district, to which they gave the name of Barce; this has within my time contained a greater number of inhabitants.

CCV. The life however of Pheretime had by no means a fortunate termination. Having gratified her revenge on the Barceans she returned from Libya to Egypt, and there perished miserably. Whilst alive, her body was the victim of worms:[1] thus it is that the gods punish those who have provoked their indignation; and such also was the vengeance which Pheretime, the wife of Battus, exercised on the Barceans.

BOOK V.—TERPSICHORE.

CHAP. I. THE Persians who had been left in Europe by Darius, under the conduct of Megabyzus, commenced their hostilities on the Hellespont with the conquest of the Perinthii, who had refused to acknowlege the authority of Darius, and had formerly been

1 This passage, with the reasoning of Herodotus on it, cannot fail to bring to the mind of the reader the miserable end of Herod, surnamed the Great.

'And he went down to Cæsarea, and there abode: and on a set day Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat on his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave *not God the* glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up *the ghost.*'—See Lardner's observations on the above historical *incident.—T.*

vanquished by the Pæonians. This latter people, inhabiting the banks of the Strymon, had been induced by an oracle to make war on the Perinthians: if the Perinthians on their meeting offered them battle, provoking them by name, they were to accept the challenge; if otherwise, they were to decline all contest. It happened accordingly that the Perinthians marched into the country of the Pæonians, and encamping before their town, sent them three specific challenges, a man to encounter with a man, a horse with a horse, a dog with a dog. The Perinthians having the advantage in the two former contests, sung with exultation a song of triumph;[1] this the Pæonians conceived to be the purport of the oracle: 'Now,' they exclaimed, 'the oracle will be fulfilled; this is the time for us.' They attacked therefore the Perinthians, whilst engaged in their imaginary triumph, and obtained so signal a victory that few of their adversaries escaped.

II. Such was the overthrow which the Perinthians received in their conflict with the Pæonians: on the present occasion they fought valiantly in defence of their liberties against Megabyzus, but were overpowered by the superior numbers of the Persians. After the capture of Perinthus, Megabyzus overran Thrace with his forces, and reduced all its cities and

1 Larcher renders this passage 'sung the Pæon,' and subjoins this note: 'Of this song there were two kinds, one was chaunted before the battle, in honor of Mars; the other after the victory, in honor of Apollo: this song commenced with the words 'Io Pæon.' The allusion of the word Pæon to the name of the Pæonians is obvious, to preserve which I have rendered it 'sung the Pæon.'—The usage and application of the word Pæon, amongst the ancients, was various and equivocal: the composition of Pindar, in praise of all the gods, was called Pæan; and Pæan was also one of the names of Apollo. To which it may be added, that Pæan being originally a hymn to Apollo, *from his name* Pæan, became afterwards extended *in its use to such addresses* to other gods.'

inhabitants under the power of the king: the conquest of Thrace had been particularly enjoined him by Darius.

III. Next to India, Thrace is of all nations the most considerable: if the inhabitants were either under the government of an individual, or united amongst themselves, their strength would in my opinion render them invincible; but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation; but except the Getæ, the Trausi, and those beyond Crestona, they are marked by a general similitude of manners.

IV. Of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal, I have before spoken. The Trausi have a general uniformity with the rest of the Thracians, except in what relates to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead. On the birth of a child, he is placed in the midst of a circle of his relations, who lament aloud the evils which, as a human being, he must necessarily undergo, all of which they particularly enumerate; but whenever any one dies, the body is committed to the ground with clamorous joy, for the deceased, they say, delivered from his miseries, is then supremely happy.

V. Those beyond the Crestonians have these observances:—each person has several wives: if the husband dies, a great contest commences amongst his wives, in which the friends of the deceased interest themselves exceedingly, to determine which of them had been most beloved. She to whom this honor is ascribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then sacrificed by her nearest relation on the tomb of her husband,[1] with whom she is afterwards buried: his

1 This custom was also observed by the Getæ: at this day,

other wives esteem this an affliction, and it is imputed to them as a great disgrace.

VI. The other Thracians have a custom of selling their children, to be carried out of their country. To their young women they pay no regard, suffering them to live indiscriminately with men; but they keep a strict guard over their wives, and purchase them of their parents at an immense price. To have punctures on their skin [1] is with them a mark of nobility; to be

in India, women burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands, which usage must have been continued there from remote antiquity. Propertius mentions it: Cicero mentions also the same fact. Larcher quotes the passage from the Tusculan Questions, of which the following is a translation.

'The women in India, when their husband dies, eagerly contend to have it determined which of them he loved best, for each man has several wives. She who conquers deems herself happy, is accompanied by her friends to the funeral pile, where her body is burned with that of her husband: they who are vanquished depart in sorrow.'—The civil code of the Indians, requiring this strange sacrifice, is to this effect: 'It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse, unless she be with child, or that her husband be absent, or that she cannot get his turban or his girdle, or unless she devote herself to chastity and celibacy: every woman who thus burns herself shall, according to the decrees of destiny, remain with her husband in Paradise for ever.'—'This practice,' says Raynal, 'so evidently contrary to reason, has been chiefly derived from the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and of a future life: the hope of being served in the other world by the same persons who obeyed us in this has been the cause of the slave being sacrificed on the tomb of his master, and the wife on the corpse of her husband; but that the Indians, who firmly believed in the transmigration of souls, should give way to this prejudice, is one of those numberless inconsistencies which in all parts of the world degrade the human mind.'—See *Raynal*, vol. i. 91. The remark, in the main, is just, but the author I fear meant to insinuate that practices contrary to reason naturally proceed from the doctrines he mentions; a suggestion which, though very worthy of the class of writers to which he belongs, has not reason enough in it to *deserve a serious reply.—T.*

1 *If Plutarch* may be credited, the Thracians in his time

without these is a testimony of mean descent: the most honorable life with them is a life of indolence: the most contemptible that of an husbandman. Their supreme delight is in war and plunder. Such are their more remarkable distinctions.

VII. The gods whom they worship are Mars, Bacchus,[1] and Diana: besides these popular gods, and in preference to them, their princes worship Mercury. They swear by him alone, and call themselves his descendants.

VIII. The funerals of their chief men are of this kind: for three days the deceased is publicly exposed; then having sacrificed animals of every description, and uttered many and loud lamentations, they celebrate a feast,[2] and the body is finally either burned or buried. They afterwards raise a mound of

made these punctures on their wives, to revenge the death of Orpheus, whom they had murdered. Phanocles agrees with this opinion, in his poem on Orpheus, of which a fragment has been preserved by Stobæus. If this be the true reason, it is remarkable that what in its origin was a punishment, became afterwards an ornament, and a mark of nobility. —*Larcher*.

Of such great antiquity does the custom of tatooing appear to have been, with descriptions of which the modern voyages to the South Sea abound.

1 That Bacchus was worshipped in Thrace is attested by many authors, and particularly by Euripides: in the Rhesus, attributed to that poet, that prince, after being slain by Ulysses, was transported to the caverns of Thrace by the muse who bore him, and becoming a divinity, he there declared the oracles of Bacchus. In the Hecuba of the same author Bacchus is called the deity of Thrace. Some placed the oracle of Bacchus near Mount Pangæa, others near Mount Hæmus. —*Larcher*.

2 It appears from a passage in Jeremiah that this mixture of mourning and feasting at funerals was very common amongst the Jews.

The same custom is still observed in the countries of the East.—*T.*

earth[1] on the spot, and celebrate games[2] of various kinds, in which each particular contest has a reward assigned suitable to its nature.

IX. With respect to the more northern parts of this region, and its inhabitants, nothing has yet been decisively ascertained. What lies beyond the Ister is a vast and almost endless space. The whole of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the Sigynæ, a people who in dress resemble the Medes: their horses are low in stature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of five digits: they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their swiftness, for which reason carriages are here very common. The confines of this people extend almost to the Eneti[3] on the Adriatic.

1 Over the place of burial of illustrious persons they raised a kind of tumulus of earth. This is well expressed in Virgil. —*Larcher.*

The practice of raising barrows over the bodies of the deceased was almost universal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans. Virgil alludes to it as usual in the times treated of in the Æneid. Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Persians. The Roman historians record that the same mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no less among the ancient Germans, and many other uncivilised nations.—See *Coxe's Travels through Poland,* &c.

2 It is impossible to say when funeral games were first instituted. According to Pliny they existed before the time of Theseus; and many have supposed that the famous games of Greece were in their origin funeral games. The best description of these is to be found in Homer and in Virgil. In the former, those celebrated by Achilles in honor of Patroclus; in the latter, those of Æneas in memory of his father.—*T.*

3 Eneti, or rather Heneti, which aspirate, represented by the Æolic digamma, forms the Latin name Veneti. Their *horses were anciently* in great estimation. Homer speaks of *their mules.—T.*

They call themselves a colony of the Medes:[1] how this could be I am not able to determine, though in a long series of time it may not have been impossible. The Sigynæ are called merchants by the Ligurians, who live beyond Massilia: with the Cyprians, Sigynæ is the name for spears.

X. The Thracians affirm that the places beyond the Ister are possessed wholly by bees, and that a passage beyond this is impracticable. To me this seems altogether impossible, for the bee is an insect known to be very impatient of cold;[2] the extremity of which, as I should think, is what renders the parts to the north uninhabitable. The sea-coast of this region was reduced by Megabyzus under the power of Persia.

XI. Darius having crossed the Hellespont, went immediately to Sardis, where he neither forgot the service of Histiæus, nor the advice of Coës of Mitylene. He accordingly sent for these two persons, and desired them to ask what they would. Histiæus, who was tyrant of Miletus, wished for no accession of power; he merely required the Edonian Myrcinus, with the view of building there a city: Coës, on the contrary, who was a private individual, wished to be

1 Strabo says that this people observed in a great measure the customs of the Persians: thus the people whom Herodotus calls Medes might be considered as genuine Persians, according to his custom of confounding their names, if Diodorus Siculus had not decided the matter.

2 This remark of Herodotus concerning bees is in a great measure true, because all apiaries are found to succeed and thrive best which are exposed to a degree of middle temperature: yet it would be difficult perhaps to ascertain the precise degree of cold in which bees would cease to live and multiply. Modern experiments have made it obviously appear that in severe winters this insect has perished as frequently from famine as from cold. It is also well known that bees have lived in hollow trees in the colder parts of Russia. —*T.*

made prince of Mitylene. Having obtained what they severally desired they departed.

XII. Darius, induced by a circumstance of which he was accidentally witness, required Megabyzus to transport the Pæonians from Europe to Asia. Pigres and Mantyes were natives of Pæonia, the government of which became the object of their ambition. With these views, when Darius had passed over into Asia, they betook themselves to Sardis, carrying with them their sister, a person of great elegance and beauty. As Darius was sitting publicly in that division of the city appropriate to the Lydians they took the opportunity of executing the following artifice: they decorated their sister in the best manner they were able, and sent her to draw water: she had a vessel on her head;[1] she led a horse by a bridle fastened round her arm; and she was moreover spinning some thread. Darius viewed her as she passed with attentive curiosity, observing that her employments were not those of a Persian, Lydian, nor indeed of any Asiatic female.

1 Nicolas Damascenus tells a similar story of Alyattes king of Sardis. This prince was one day sitting before the walls of the town, when he beheld a Thracian woman with an urn on her head, a distaff and spindle in her hand, and behind her a horse secured by a bridle. The king, astonished, asked her who and of what country she was? She replied, she was of Mysia, a district of Thrace. In consequence of this adventure the king by his ambassadors desired Cotys prince of Thrace to send him a colony from that country, of men, women, and children.—*Larcher*.

The Mysia mentioned in the above account is called by some Greek writers *Mysia in Europe*, to distinguish it from the province of that name in Asia Minor; but Pliny, and most of the Latin writers, distinguish it more effectually by writing it Mœsia; in which form it will be found in the maps, extending along the southern side of the Danube, opposite to Dacia; being the tract which forms the modern Servia and Bulgaria.

He was prompted by what he had seen to send some of his attendants, who might observe what she did with the horse. They accordingly followed her: the woman, when she came to the river, gave her horse some water, and then filled her pitcher. Having done this, she returned by the way she came; with the pitcher of water on her head, the horse fastened by a bridle to her arm, and as before, employed in spinning.

XIII. Darius, equally surprised at what he heard from his servants and had seen himself, sent for the woman to his presence. On her appearance, the brothers, who had observed all from a convenient situation, came forward, and declared that they were Pæonians, and the woman their sister. On this Darius inquired who the Pæonians were, where was their country, and what had induced themselves to come to Sardis. The young men replied, 'That as to themselves, their only motive was a desire of entering into his service; that Pæonia their country was situated on the banks of the river Strymon, at no great distance from the Hellespont.' They added, 'that the Pæonians were a Trojan colony.' Darius then inquired if all the women of their country were thus accustomed to labor: they replied without hesitation in the affirmative; for this was the point they had particularly in view.

XIV. In consequence of the above, Darius sent letters to Megabyzus, whom he had left commander of his forces in Thrace, ordering him to remove all the Pæonians to Sardis, with their wives and families. The courier sent with this message instantly made his way to the Hellespont, which having passed, he presented Megabyzus with the orders of his master. Me-

gabyzus accordingly lost no time in executing them; but taking with him some Thracian guides, led his army against Pæonia.

XV. The Pæonians being aware of the intentions of the Persians, collected their forces, and advanced towards the sea, imagining the enemy would there make their attack: thus they prepared themselves to resist the invasion of Megabyzus: but the Persian general being informed that every approach from the sea was guarded by their forces, under the direction of his guides made a circuit by the higher parts of the country, and thus eluding the Pæonians, came unexpectedly on their towns, of which, as they were generally deserted, he took possession without difficulty. The Pæonians, informed of this event, dispersed themselves, and returning to their families, submitted to the Persians. Thus, the Pæonians, the Syropæonians, the Pæoplæ, and they who possess the country as far as the Prasian lake, were removed from their habitations, and transported to Asia.

XVI. The people in the vicinity of Mount Pangæus,[1] with the Doberæ, the Agrianæ, Odomanti, and those of the Prasian lake, Megabyzus was not able to subdue. They who lived on the lake, in dwellings of the following construction, were the objects of his next attempt. In this lake strong piles are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the shore. These erections were in former times made at the public expense; but a law afterwards passed, obliging a man for every wife whom he should marry (and they allow a plurality) to drive three of these piles into the

1 This *place, as Herodotus* informs us in the seventh book, *possessed both gold* and *silver* mines.—*T*.

ground, taken from a mountain called Orbelus. On these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap-door opens to the water. To prevent their infants from falling into the lake they fasten a string to their legs. Their horses and cattle are fed principally on fish,[1] of which there is such abundance, that if any one lets down a basket into the water, and steps aside, he may presently after draw it up full of fish. Of these they have two particular species, called papraces and tilones.

XVII. Such of the Pæonians as were taken captive were removed into Asia. After the conquest of this people Megabyzus sent into Macedonia seven Persians of his army, next in dignity and estimation to himself, requiring of Amyntas, in the name of Darius, earth and water. From the lake Prasis to Macedonia there is a very short passage; for on the very brink of the lake is found the mine which in after times produced to Alexander a talent every day. Next to this mine is the Dysian mount, which being passed, you enter Macedonia.

XVIII. The Persians on their arrival were admitted to an immediate audience of Amyntas, when they demanded of him, in the name of Darius, earth and water. This was not only granted, but Amyntas received the messengers hospitably into his family, gave them a splendid entertainment, and treated them with particular kindness. When after the entertainment they began to drink, one of the Persians thus addressed Amyntas: 'Prince of Macedonia, it is a custom with us Persians, whenever we have a public entertainment, to introduce our concubines and young

1 *Torffæus*, in his History of Norway, informs us that in *the cold* and maritime parts of Europe cattle are fed with *fish*.—*Wesseling*.

wives. Since therefore you have received us kindly, and with the rites of hospitality, and have also acknowleged the claims of Darius, in giving him earth and water, imitate the custom we have mentioned.'—'Persians,' replied Amyntas, 'our manners are very different, for our women are kept separate from the men. But since you are our masters, and require it, what you solicit shall be granted.' Amyntas therefore sent for the women, who on their coming were seated opposite to the Persians. The Persians observing them beautiful, told Amyntas that he was still defective: 'For it were better,' they exclaimed, 'that they had not come at all, than on their appearing, not to suffer them to sit near us, but to place them opposite, as a kind of torment to our eyes.'[1] Amyntas, acting thus under

1 This passage has been the occasion of much critical controversy. Longinus censures it as frigid. Many learned men, in opposition to Longinus, have vindicated the expression. Pearce, in his Commentaries, is of opinion that those who in this instance have opposed themselves to Longinus have not entered into the precise meaning of that critic. The historian, he observes, does not mean to say that the beauty of these females might not excite dolores oculorum, but they could not themselves properly be termed so. Pearce quotes a passage from Æschylus, where Helen is called the tender dart of the eyes. Alexander the Great called the Persian women the darts of the eyes. After all, to me at least, considering it was used by natives of Persia, and making allowance for the warm and figurative language of the East, the expression seems to require neither comment nor vindication. In some classical lines written by Cowley, called The Account, I find this strong expression:

When all the stars are by thee told,
The endless sums of heavenly gold;
Or when the hairs are reckon'd all,
From sickly Autumn's head that fall;
Or when the drops that make the sea,
Whilst *all her sands* thy counters be,
Thou then, and then alone, may'st prove
Th' arithmetician of my love.

compulsion, directed the women to sit with the Persians. The women obeyed, and the Persians, being warmed by their wine, began to put their hands to their bosoms, and to kiss them.

XIX. Amyntas observed this indecency, and with great vexation, though his awe of the Persians induced him not to notice it. But his son Alexander, who was also present, and witnessed their behavior, being in the vigor of youth, and hitherto without experience of calamity, was totally unable to bear it. 'Sir,' said he to Amyntas, being much incensed, 'your age is a sufficient excuse for your retiring; leave me to preside at the banquet, and to pay such attention to our guests as shall be proper and necessary.' Amyntas could not but observe that the warmth of youth prompted his son to some act of boldness; he accordingly made him this reply: 'I can plainly see your motive for soliciting my absence; you desire me to go, that you may perpetrate somewhat to which your spirit impels you; but I must insist on it,[1] that you do not occasion our ruin by molesting these men; suffer their indignities patiently. I shall however follow your advice, and retire.' With these words Amyntas left them.

An hundred loves at Athens score;
At Corinth write a hundred more;
Three hundred more at Rhodes and Crete,
Three hundred 'tis I'm sure complete,
For arms at Crete each face does bear,
And every eye's an archer there, &c.

When we consider that the Cretan archers were celebrated beyond all others, this expression will not seem much less bold or figurative than that of Herodotus.

1 The reader will in this place, I presume, be naturally suspicious that the good old King Amyntas was well aware *what his* son Alexander intended to perpetrate. If he suspected what was about to be done, and had not wished its accomplishment, he would probably, notwithstanding his age, have stayed and prevented it.—T.

XX. On this, Alexander thus addressed the Persians: 'You are at liberty, sirs, to repose yourselves with any or with all of these females: I have only to require that you will make your choice known to me. It is now almost time to retire, and I can perceive that our wine has had its effect on you. You will please therefore to suffer these women to go and bathe themselves, and they shall afterwards return.' The Persians approved of what he said, and the women retired to their proper apartments; but, in their room, he dressed up an equal number of smooth-faced young men, and arming each with a dagger, he introduced them to the company. 'Persians,' said he, on their entering, 'we have given you a magnificent entertainment, and supplied you with every thing in our power to procure. We have also, which with us weighs more than all the rest, presented you with our matrons and our sisters, that we might not appear to you in any respect insensible of your merits; and that you may inform the king your master with what liberality a Greek and prince of Macedonia has entertained you at bed and at board.' When he had thus said, Alexander commanded the Macedonians, whom he had dressed as females, to sit by the side of the Persians: but on their first attempt to touch them the Macedonians put every one of them to death.

XXI. These Persians with their retinue thus forfeited their lives: they had been attended on this expedition with a number of carriages and servants, all of which were seized and plundered. At no great interval of time a strict inquisition was made by the Persians into this business; but Alexander, by his discretion, obviated its effects. To Bubaris, a native of Persia, and one of those who had been sent to inquire into the death of his countrymen, he made

very liberal presents, and gave his sister in marriage. By these means the assassination of the Persian officers was overlooked and forgotten.

XXII. These Greeks were descended from Perdiccas: this they themselves affirm, and indeed I myself know it, from certain circumstances which I shall hereafter relate. My opinion of this matter is also confirmed by the determination of those who preside at the Olympic games:[1] for when Alexander, with an ambition of distinguishing himself, expressed a desire of entering the lists, the Greeks, who were his competitors, repelled him with scorn, asserting that this was a contest, not of barbarians, but of Greeks; but he proved himself to be an Argive, and was consequently allowed to be a Greek. He was then permitted to contend, and was paired with the first combatant.

XXIII. I have related the facts which happened. Megabyzus, taking the Pæonians along with him, passed the Hellespont, and arrived at Sardis. At this period Histiæus the Milesian was engaged in defending with a wall the place which had been given him by Darius as a reward for his preserving the bridge; it is called Myrcinus, and is near the river Strymon.

1 The judges who presided at the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ; their number varied at different times: they were a long time ten, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number of the Elean tribes; but it finally reverted to ten. They did not all judge promiscuously at every contest; but only such as were deputed to do so. Their decisions might be appealed from, and they might even be accused before the senate of Olympia, who sometimes set aside their determinations. They who were elected Hellanodicæ were compelled to reside ten months successively in a building appropriated to their use at Olympia, and named from them the Hellanodicæon, in order to instruct themselves previous to their entering on their office.—*Larcher.*

Megabyzus, as soon as he came to Sardis, and learned what had been done with respect to Histiæus, thus addressed Darius: 'Have you, sir, done wisely, in permitting a Greek of known activity and abilities to erect a city in Thrace; in a place which abounds with every requisite for the construction and equipment of ships; and where there are also mines of silver? A number of Greeks are there, mixed with barbarians, who, making him their leader, will be ready on every occasion to execute his commands. Suffer him therefore to proceed no farther, lest a civil war be the consequence. Do not, however, use violent measures; but when you shall have him in your power take care to prevent the possibility of his return to Greece.'

XXIV. Darius was easily induced to yield to the arguments of Megabyzus, of whose sagacity he intirely approved. He immediately therefore sent him a message to the following purport: 'Histiæus, King Darius considers you as one of the ablest supports of his throne, of which he has already received the strongest testimony. He has now in contemplation a business of great importance, and requires your presence and advice.' Histiæus believed the messenger, and, delighted with the idea of being invited to the king's councils, hastened to Sardis, where on his arrival Darius thus addressed him: 'Histiæus, my motive for soliciting your presence is this; my not seeing you at my return from Scythia filled me with the extremest regret; my desire to converse with you continually increased, being well convinced that there is no treasure so great as a sincere and sagacious friend, for of your truth as well as prudence I have received the most satisfactory proofs. You have done well in coming to me. I therefore entreat that, forgetting Miletus, and leaving the city you have recently built in

Thrace, you will accompany me to Susa: you shall there have apartments in my palace, and live with me, my companion and my friend.'

XXV. Darius, having thus accomplished his wishes, took Histiæus with him, and departed for Susa. Artaphernes, his brother by the father's side, was left governor of Sardis: Otanes was intrusted with the command of the sea-coast. Sisamnes, the father of the latter, had been one of the royal judges; but having been guilty of corruption in the execution of his office, was put to death by Cambyses. By order of this prince the intire skin was taken from his body, and fixed over the tribunal[1] at which he formerly presided. Cambyses gave the office of Sisamnes to his son Otanes, commanding him to have constantly in memory in what tribunal he sat.

XXVI. Otanes having at first the above appointment, succeeded afterwards to the command of Megabyzus, when he reduced Byzantium and Chalcedon. He took also Lamponium and Antandros, which latter is in the province of Troy. With the assistance of a fleet from Lesbos, he made himself master of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi.

XXVII. The Lemnians fought with great bravery, and made a long and vigorous resistance, but were at length subdued. Over such as survived the conflict the Persians appointed Lycaretus governor: he was the brother of Mæander, who had reigned at Samos; but he died during his government. All the above-

1 This it seems was a common custom in Persia; and corrupt judges were sometimes flayed alive, and their skins afterwards thus disposed. Larcher quotes a passage from *Diodorus Siculus*, which informs us that Artaxerxes punished some unjust judges precisely in this manner.—T.

mentioned people were reduced to servitude: it was pretended that some had been deserters in the Scythian expedition, and that others had harassed Darius in his retreat. Such was the conduct of Otanes in his office, which he did not long enjoy with tranquillity.

XXVIII. The Ionians were soon visited by new calamities, from Miletus and from Naxos.[1] Of all the islands, Naxos was the happiest; but Miletus might be deemed the pride of Ionia, and was at that time in the height of its prosperity. In the two preceding ages it had been considerably weakened by internal factions; but the tranquillity of its inhabitants was finally restored by the interposition of the Parians,[2] whom the Milesians had preferred on this occasion to all the other Greeks.

XXIX. To heal the disorders which existed amongst them, the Parians applied the following remedy:—those employed in this office were of considerable distinction; and perceiving, on their arrival at Miletus, that the whole state was involved in extreme confusion, they desired to examine the condition of their territories: wherever, in their progress through this

1 This place was first called Strongyle, afterwards Dia, and then Naxos: there was a place of this name also in Sicily. The Naxos of the Ægean is now called Naxia: it was anciently famous for its whetstones, and Naxia cos became a proverb. In classical story this island is famous for being the place where Theseus, returning from Crete, forsook Ariadne, who afterwards became the wife of Bacchus: a very minute and satisfactory account of the ancient and modern condition of this island is to be found in Tournefort. Stephens the geographer says that the women of Naxos went with child but eight months, and that the island possessed a spring of pure wine.—*T.*

2 The inhabitants of Paros have always been accounted people of good sense, and the Greeks of the neighboring islands *often make them* arbitrators of their disputes.—See *Tournefort; who gives* an excellent account of this island.

desolate country, they observed any lands well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the owner. In the whole district, however, they found but few estates so circumstanced. Returning to Miletus, they called an assembly of the people, and they placed the direction of affairs in the hands of those who had best cultivated their lands: for they concluded that they would be watchful of the public interest who had taken care of their own: they enjoined all the Milesians who had before been factious to obey these, and they thus restored the general tranquillity.

XXX. The evils which the Ionians experienced from these cities were of this nature:—some of the more noble inhabitants of Naxos, being driven by the common people into banishment, sought a refuge at Miletus: Miletus was then governed by Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, the son-in-law and cousin of Histiæus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius detained at Susa. Histiæus was prince of Miletus, but was at Susa when the Naxians arrived in his dominions. These exiles petitioned Aristagoras to assist them with supplies, to enable them to return to their country: he immediately conceived the idea, that by accomplishing their return, he might eventually become master of Naxos. He thought proper however to remind them of the alliance which subsisted betwixt Histiæus and their countrymen; and he addressed them as follows: 'I am not master of adequate force to restore you to your country, if they who are in possession of Naxos shall think proper to oppose me: the Naxians, I am told, have eight thousand men in arms, and many ships of war. I nevertheless wish to effect it, and I think it may be thus accomplished:—Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, is my particular friend: he has the command of all

the sea-coast of Asia, and is provided with a numerous army, and a powerful fleet: he will, I think, do all that I desire.' The Naxians instantly intrusted Anaxagoras with the management of the business, entreating him to complete it as he could: they engaged to assist the expedition with forces, and to make presents to Artaphernes; and they expressed great hopes that as soon as they should appear before the place, Naxos, with the rest of the islands, would immediately submit; for hitherto none of the Cyclades were under the power of Darius.

XXXI. Aristagoras went immediately to Sardis, where meeting with Artaphernes, he painted to him in flattering terms the island of Naxos, which, though of no great extent, he represented as exceedingly fair and fertile, conveniently situated with respect to Ionia, very wealthy, and remarkably populous. 'It will be worth your while,' said he, 'to make an expedition against it, under pretence of restoring its exiles: to facilitate this, I already possess a considerable sum of money, besides what will be otherwise supplied. It is proper that we who set the expedition on foot should provide the contingent expenses; but you will certainly acquire to the king our master Naxos with its dependencies, Paros and Andros, with the rest of the islands called the Cyclades: from hence you may easily attempt the invasion of Eubœa,[1] an island large and fertile, and not at all inferior to Cyprus: this will afford you an easy conquest, and a fleet of one hundred ships will be sufficient to effect the whole.' To

1 This large island is now commonly called Negropont or Negrepont, by the Europeans; which is a corruption of its proper appellation *Egripo*. Anciently it had, at different times, a great variety of names, Macris, Chalcis, Asopis, &c. At *Artemisium*, one of its promontories, the first battle was *fought betwixt Xerxes* and the Greeks.—T.

this Artaphernes replied: 'What you recommend will unquestionably promote the interest of the king, and the particulars of your advice are reasonable and consistent: instead of one hundred, a fleet of two hundred vessels shall be ready for you in the beginning of spring; it will be proper however to have the sanction of the king's authority.'

XXXII. Pleased with the answer he received, Aristagoras returned to Miletus. Artaphernes sent immediately to acquaint Darius with the project of Aristagoras, which met his approbation: he accordingly fitted out two hundred triremes, which he manned partly with Persians and partly with their allies. Megabates had the command of the whole, a Persian of the family of the Achæmenides, related to Darius and himself, whose daughter, if report may be credited,[1] was, in succeeding times, betrothed to Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, son of Cleombrotus, who aspired to the sovereignty of Greece. These forces, under the direction of this Megabates, were sent by Artaphernes to Aristagoras.

XXXIII. Megabates embarking at Miletus, with Aristagoras, a body of Ionians, and the Naxians, pretended to sail towards the Hellespont; but arriving at Chios, he lay-to near Caucasa; meaning, under the the favor of a north wind, to pass from thence to Naxos. The following circumstance however happened, as if to prove that it was not ordained for the Naxians to suffer from this expedition:—Megabates on going his rounds, found a Myndian vessel deserted by its crew: he was so exasperated, that he com-

1 It appears by this, that when Herodotus composed this work he had no knowlege of the letter in which Pausanias demanded of Xerxes his daughter in marriage.—It may be seen in Thucydides.—*Larcher.*

manded his guards to find Scylax, who commanded it, and to bind him in such a situation that his head should appear outwardly from the aperture through which the oar passed, his body remaining in the vessel. Aristagoras being informed of the treatment which his friend the Myndian had received, went to Megabates to make his excuse, and obtain his liberty; but as his expostulations proved ineffectual, he went himself and released Scylax. Megabates was much incensed, and expressed his displeasure to Aristagoras; from whom he received this reply: 'Your authority,' said Aristagoras, 'does not extend so far as you suppose; you were sent to attend me, and to sail wherever I should think expedient;—you are much too officious.' Megabates took this reproach so ill, that at the approach of night he despatched some emissaries to Naxos, to acquaint the inhabitants with the intended invasion.

XXXIV. Of this attack the Naxians had not the remotest expectation; but they took the advantage of the intelligence imparted to them, and provided against a siege, by removing their valuables from the fields to the town, and by laying up a store of water and provisions, and lastly, by repairing their walls: they were thus prepared against every emergence; whilst the Persians, passing over from Chios to Naxos, found the place in a perfect state of defence. Having wasted four months in the attack, and exhausted all the pecuniary resources which themselves had brought, together with what Aristagoras supplied, they still found that much was wanting to accomplish their purpose; they erected therefore a fort for the Naxian exiles, and returned to the continent greatly disappointed.

XXXV. Aristagoras thus found himself unable to fulfil his engagements with Artaphernes; and he was also, to his great vexation, called on to defray the ex-

pense of the expedition; he saw moreover in the person of Megabates an accuser, and he feared that their ill success should be imputed to him, and made a pretence for depriving him of his authority at Miletus: all these motives induced him to meditate a revolt. Whilst he was in this perplexity a messenger arrived from Histiæus, at Susa, who brought with him an express command to revolt; the particulars of which were impressed in legible characters on his skull.[1] Histiæus was desirous to communicate his intentions to Aristagoras; but as the ways were strictly guarded, he could devise no other method; he therefore took one of the most faithful of his slaves, and inscribed what we have mentioned on his skull, being first shaved; he detained the man till his hair was again grown, when he sent him to Miletus, desiring him to be as expeditious as possible; and simply requesting Aristagoras to examine his skull, he discovered the characters which commanded him to commence a re-

1 Many curious contrivances are on record of which the ancients availed themselves to convey secret intelligence. Ovid mentions an example of a letter inscribed on a person's back. The circumstance here mentioned by Herodotus is told at greater length by Aulus Gellius, who says that Histiæus chose one of his domestics for this purpose who had sore eyes, to cure which he told him that his hair must be shaved, and his head scarified; having done which, he wrote what he intended on the man's head, and then sent him to Aristagoras, who, he told him, would effect his cure by shaving his head a second time. Josephus mentions a variety of stratagems to effect this purpose: some were sent in coffins, during the Jewish war, to convey intelligence; others crept out of places disguised like dogs; some have conveyed their intentions in various articles of food: and in Bishop Wilkin's Mercury, where a number of examples of this nature are collected, mention is made of a person who rolled up a letter in a wax candle, bidding the messenger inform the party that was to receive it that the candle would give him light for his business.—T.

volt. To this measure Histiæus was induced by the vexation he experienced from his captivity at Susa. He flattered himself, that as soon as Aristagoras was in action, he should be able to escape to the sea-coast; but whilst every thing remained quiet at Miletus he had no prospect of effecting his return.

XXXVI. With these views Histiæus despatched his emissary: the message he delivered to Aristagoras was alike grateful and seasonable, who accordingly signified to his party that his own opinions were confirmed by the commands of Histiæus. His intentions to commence a revolt met with the general approbation of the assembly, Hecatæus the historian being the only one who dissented. To dissuade them from any act of hostility against the Persian monarch, he enumerated the various nations which Darius had subdued, and the prodigious power he possessed: when he found these arguments ineffectual, he advised them to let their fleet take immediate possession of the sea, as the only means by which they might expect success. He confessed that the resources of the Milesians were but few; but he suggested the idea that if they would make a seizure of the wealth deposited by Crœsus the Lydian in the Branchidian temple,[1] they might promise themselves these two advantages; they would be able to make themselves masters of the sea, and by thus using these riches themselves, would prevent their being plundered by the enemy. That these riches were of very considerable value, I have ex-

1 For an account of the temple of Branchidæ see page 38. 'If Aristagoras,' says Larcher, 'had followed the prudent counsel of Hecatæus, he would have had an increase of power against the Persians, and deprived Xerxes of the opportunity *of pillaging* this temple, and employing its *riches against Greece.'—T.*

plained in my first book. This advice however ill received, although the determination to revc fixed and universal. It was agreed that one o party should sail to the army, which, on its retur Naxos, had disembarked at Myus,[1] with the v seizing the persons of the officers.

XXXVII. Iatragoras was the person emplo this business; who so far succeeded, that he ca Oliatus the Mylassensian, son of Ibanolis; Histi Termene, son of Tymnis; Coës the son of Erx to whom Darius had given Mitylene; togeth Aristagoras the Cymæan, son of Heraclides many others. Aristagoras thus commenced a r revolt, full of indignation against Darius. To the Milesians to act in concert with him, he estal among them a republican form of governmen adopted a similar conduct with respect to the Ionia; and to excite a general prejudice in his he expelled the tyrants from some places, and l sent back those who had been taken in the vessels served against Naxos to the cities to which th verally belonged.

XXXVIII. The inhabitants of Mitylene h sooner got Coës into their hands than they put death by stoning him. The Cymæans sent their back again; and the generality of those who ha sessed the supreme authority being driven into

1 This city was given to Themistocles, to furnish h with fish, with which the bay of Myus formerly abo the bay, in process of time, became a fresh-water la produced such swarms of gnats, that the inhabitants d the place, and were afterwards incorporated with th sians. Chandler, who visited this place, complains t old nuisance of Myus tormented him and his compani ceedingly, and that towards the evening the inside tent was made quite black by the number of gnats wl fested them.—*T.*

an equal form of government was established: this being accomplished, Aristagoras the Milesian directed magistrates, elected by the people, to be established in the different cities; after which he himself sailed in a trireme to Lacedæmon, convinced of the necessity of procuring some powerful allies.

XXXIX. Anaxandrides, son of Leontes, did not then sit on the throne of Sparta: he was deceased, and his son Cleomenes had succeeded him, rather on account of his family than his virtues. Anaxandrides had married his niece, of whom he was exceedingly fond, though she produced him no children; in consequence of which the ephori thus expostulated with him: 'If you do not feel for yourself, you ought for us, and not suffer the race of Eurysthenes to be extinguished. As the wife which you now have is barren, repudiate her and marry another, by which you will much gratify your countrymen.' He replied that he could not comply with either of their requests, as he did not think them to be justified in recommending him to divorce an innocent woman, and to marry another.

XL. The ephori consulted with the senate, and made him this reply: 'We observe your excessive attachment to your wife; but if you would avoid the resentment of your countrymen, do what we advise: we will not insist on your repudiating your present wife:—behave to her as you have always done; but we wish you to marry another, by whom you may have offspring.' To this Anaxandrides assented, and from that time had two wives,[1] and two separate dwellings, contrary to the usage of his country.

1 'He was the only Lacedæmonian,' says Pausanias, 'who had *two wives at the same time, and had two separate dwellings.'—See Pausanias, Lacon.* lib. III. ch. iii. 211.—T.

XLI. At no great interval of time the woman whom he last married produced him this Cleomenes, the presumptive heir of his dominions: about the same period his former wife, who had hitherto been barren, proved with child. Although there was not the smallest doubt of her pregnancy, the relations of the second wife, vexed at the circumstance, industriously circulated a report that she had not conceived, but intended to impose on them a supposititious child. Instigated by these insinuations the ephori distrusted and narrowly observed her: she was however delivered; first of Dorieus, then of Leonidas,[1] and lastly of Cleombrotus: by some it has been affirmed that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were twins. The second wife, who was the daughter of Prinetades, and grand-daughter of Demarmenus, had never any other child but Cleomenes.

XLII. Of Cleomenes it is reported that he had not the proper use of his faculties, but was insane; Dorieus, on the contrary, was greatly distinguished by his accomplishments, and trusted to find his way to the throne by valor and by merit. On the death of Anaxandrides,[2] the Lacedæmonians, agreeably to the custom of their nation, preferred Cleomenes,[3] as eldest, to the sovereignty. This greatly disgusted Dorieus who did not choose to become the dependant of his brother: taking with him therefore a number of his

1 This was the Leonidas who died with so much glory at the straits of Thermopylæ.

2 An apophthegm of this Anaxandrides is left by Plutarch: being asked why they preserved no money in the exchequer; 'That the keepers of it,' he replied, 'might not be tempted to become knaves.'—*T.*

3 This Cleomenes, as is reported by Ælian, used to say that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, and Hesiod the poet of the helots: one taught the art of war, the other of agriculture.—*T.*

countrymen, he left Sparta, and founded a colony: but so impetuous was his resentment, that he neglected to inquire of the Delphic oracle where he should fix his residence; nor did he observe any of the ceremonies[1] usual on such occasions. Under the conduct of some Thereans he sailed to Africa, and settled on the banks of a river near Cinyps,[2] one of the most delightful situations in that part of the world: in the third year of his residence, being expelled by the joint efforts of the Maci, Afri, and Carthaginians, he returned to the Peloponnesus.

XLIII. Here Antichares of Elis advised him, in conformity to the oracles of Laius, to found Heraclea in Sicily: affirming that all the region of Eryx was the property of the Heraclidæ, as having belonged to Hercules:[3] he accordingly went to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether the country where he was about to

1 Amongst other ceremonies which they observed, when they went to establish a colony, they took some fire from the prytaneum of the metropolis; and if in the colony this ever was extinguished, they returned to the metropolis to rekindle it.—*Larcher*.

2 The vicinity of this river abounded in goats, and was celebrated for its fertility.—See Virgil.—*T*.

3 When Hercules came into the country of Eryx, Eryx, the son of Venus and Bula the king of the country, challenged Hercules to wrestle with him: both sides proposed the wager to be won and lost. Eryx laid to stake his kingdom, but Hercules his oxen: Eryx at first disdained such an unequal wager, not fit to be compared with his country; but when Hercules, on the other side, answered, that if he lost them, he should lose his immortality with them, Eryx was contented with the condition, and engaged in the contest: but he was overcome, and so was stripped of the possession of his country, which Hercules gave to the inhabitants, allowing them to take the fruits to their own use, till some one of his posterity came to demand it, which afterwards happened; *for, many ages after*, Dorieus the Lacedæmonian, *sailing into Sicily*, recovered his ancestor's dominion, and *there built Heraclea.—Booth's Diodorus* Siculus.

reside would prove a permanent acquisition. The reply of the Pythian being favorable, he embarked in the same vessels which had accompanied him from Africa, and sailed to Italy.

XLIV. At this period, as is reported, the Sybarites, under the conduct of Telys, their king, meditated an attack on the inhabitants of Crotona: apprehensive of which, these latter implored the assistance of Dorieus: he listened to their solicitations, and joining forces, he marched with them against Sybaris,[1] and took it.[2] The Sybarites say that Dorieus and his companions

1 Sybaris was founded by the Achæans, betwixt the rivers Crastis and Sybaris; it soon became a place of great opulence and power; the effeminacy of the people became proverbial: see Plutarch.—'It is reported,' says he, in his Banquet of the Seven Wise Men, 'that the Sybarites used to invite their neighbors' wives a whole twelvemonth before their entertainments, that they might have convenient time to dress and adorn themselves.'—See also Athenæus, b. xii. c. iii., by whom many whimsical things are recorded of the Sybarites. Their attendants at the bath had fetters, that they might not, by their careless haste, burn those who bathed; all noisy trades were banished from their city, that the sleep of the citizens might not be disturbed; for the same reason also, they permitted no cocks to be kept in their city. An inhabitant of this place being once at Sparta, was invited to a public entertainment, where, with the other guests, he was seated on a wooden bench: 'Till now,' he remarked, 'the bravery of the Spartans has excited my admiration; but I no longer wonder that men living so hard a life should be fearless of death.'—This place was afterwards called Thurium.—*T.*

2 The cause of the war, according to Diodorus Siculus, was this: 'Telys persuaded the Sybarites to banish five hundred of their most powerful citizens, and to sell their effects by public auction: the exiles retired to Crotona. Telys sent ambassadors to demand the fugitives, or in case of refusal to denounce war; the people were disposed to give them up, but the celebrated Pythagoras persuaded them to engage in their defence. Milo was very active in the contest; and the event was so fatal to the Sybarites, that their town was plundered and reduced to a perfect solitude.—*Larcher.*

did this; but the people of Crotona deny that in their contest with the Sybarites they availed themselves of the assistance of any foreigner, except Callias of Elis, a priest of the family of the Iamidæ. He had fled from Telys, prince of Sybaris, because on some solemn sacrifice he was not able, from the entrails of the victim, to promise success against Crotona.—The matter is thus differently stated by the two nations.

XLV. The proofs of what they severally assert are these:—the Sybarites show near the river Crastis, which is sometimes dry, a sacred edifice, built, as they affirm, by Dorieus, after the capture of his city, and consecrated to the Crastian Minerva. The death of Dorieus himself is another, and with them the strongest testimony; for he lost his life whilst acting in opposition to the express commands of the oracle. For if he had confined his exertions to what was the avowed object of his expedition, he would have obtained, and effectually secured, the possession of the region of Eryx, and thus have preserved himself and his followers. The inhabitants of Crotona are satisfied with exhibiting certain lands, given to the Elean Callias, in the district of Crotona, which even within my remembrance the descendants of Callias possess: this was not the case with Dorieus, nor any of his posterity. It must be obvious that if this Dorieus, in the war above mentioned, had assisted the people of Crotona, they would have given more to him than to Callias. To the above different testimonies every person is at liberty to give what credit he thinks proper.

XLVI. Amongst those who accompanied Dorieus, with a view of founding a colony, were Thessalus, Paræbates, Celees, and Euryleon; all of whom, Euryleon excepted, fell in an engagement with the Phœnicians and Ægestans, on their happening to touch at

Sicily: this man, collecting such as remained of his companions, took possession of Minoas, a Selinusian colony, which he delivered from the oppression of Pythagoras. Euryleon, putting the tyrant to death, assumed his situation and authority. These, however, he did not long enjoy; for the Selinusians rose in a body against him, and slew him before the altar of Jupiter Forensis,[1] where he had fled for refuge.

XLVII. Philip, a native of Crotona, and son of Butacides, was the companion of Dorieus in his travels and death: he had entered into engagements of marriage with a daughter of Telys of Sybaris; but not choosing to fulfil them, he left his country, and went to Cyrene; from hence also he departed, in search of Dorieus, in a three-oared vessel of his own, manned with a crew provided at his own expense: he had been victorious in the Olympic games, and was confessedly the handsomest man in Greece. On account of his accomplishments of person the people of Ægestus distinguished him by very unusual honors: they erected a monument over the place of his interment, where they offered sacrifices as to a divinity.

XLVIII. We have above related the fortunes and death of Dorieus. If he could have submitted to the authority of his brother Cleomenes, and had remained at Lacedæmon, he would have succeeded to the throne of Sparta. Cleomenes, after a very short reign, died, leaving an only child, a daughter, of the name of Gorgo.[2]

1 That is to say, in the public forum, where the altar of this god was erected.—*T.*

2 She married Leonidas. When this prince departed for Thermopylæ Gorgo asked him what commands he had for her: 'Marry,' said he, 'some worthy man, and become the mother of a valiant race.'—He himself expected to perish. This princess was remarkable for her virtue, and was one of

XLIX. During the reign of Cleomenes Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, arrived at Sparta: the Lacedæmonians affirm, that desiring to have a conference with their sovereign, he appeared before him with a tablet of brass in his hand, on which was inscribed every known part of the habitable world, the seas, and the rivers. He thus addressed the Spartan monarch: 'When you know my business, Cleomenes, you will cease to wonder at my zeal in desiring to see you. The Ionians, who ought to be free, are in a state of servitude; which is not only disgraceful, but also a source of the extremest sorrow to us, as it must also be to you, who are so pre-eminent in Greece. I entreat you, therefore, by the gods of Greece, to restore the Ionians to liberty, who are connected with you by ties of consanguinity. The accomplishment of this will not be difficult: the barbarians are by no means remarkable for their valor; whilst you, by your military virtue, have attained the summit of renown. They rush to the combat armed only with a bow and a short spear:[1] their robes are long; they suffer their hair to grow; and they will afford an easy conquest: add to this, that they who inhabit the continent are affluent beyond the rest of their neighbors. They have abundance of gold, of silver, and of brass; they enjoy a profusion of every article of dress, have plenty of cattle, and a prodigious number of slaves:[2] all these, if you think

the women whom Plutarch proposed as a model to Eurydice. —*Larcher*.

1 A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations is given in the seventh book of Herodotus, in which place he minutely describes the various people which composed the prodigious army of Xerxes. It may not be improper to add, that the military habits of the Greeks and Romans very much resembled each other.—*T*.

2 The first *slaves* were doubtless captives taken in war, *who were employed for* menial purposes; from being sought

proper, may be yours. The nations by which they are surrounded I shall explain: next to these Ionians are the Lydians, who possess a fertile territory, and a profusion of silver.' Saying this, he pointed on the tablet in his hand to the particular district of which he spake. 'Contiguous to the Lydians,' continued Aristagoras, 'as you advance towards the east, are the Phrygians, a people who, beyond all the nations of whom I have any knowlege, enjoy the greatest abundance of cattle and of the earth's produce. The Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians, join to the Phrygians; then follow the Cilicians, who possess the scattered islands of our sea, in the vicinity of Cyprus: these people pay annually to the king a tribute of five hundred talents. The Armenians, who have also great plenty of cattle, border on the Cilicians. The Armenians have for their neighbors the Matieni, who inhabit the region contiguous to Cissia: in this latter district, and not far remote from the river Choaspes, is Susa, where the Persian monarch occasionally resides, and where his treasures are deposited. Make

after for use, they finally were purchased and possessed for ostentation. A passage in Athenæus informs us, that he knew many Romans who possessed from ten to twenty thousand slaves. According to Tacitus, four hundred slaves were discovered in one great man's house at Rome, all of whom were executed for not preventing the death of their master. Some nations marked their slaves like cattle; and in Menjan's history of Algiers the author represents a Turk saying scornfully to a Christian, 'What! have you forgot the time when a Christian at Algiers was scarce worth an onion?' We learn from Sir John Chardin, that when the Tartars made an incursion into Poland, and carried away as many captives as they could, perceiving they would not be redeemed, they sold them for a crown a head. To enter into any elaborate disquisition on the rights of man would in this place be impertinent; and the reader will perceive that I have rather *thrown together* some detached matters on this interesting *subject*, perhaps not so generally known.

yourselves masters of this city, and you may vie in affluence with Jupiter himself. Lay aside therefore the contest in which you are engaged with the Messenians, who equal you in strength, about a tract of land not very extensive, nor remarkably fertile. Neither are the Arcadians nor the Argives proper objects of your ambition, who are destitute of those precious metals which induce men to brave dangers and death: but can any thing be more desirable than the opportunity now afforded you of making the intire conquest of Asia?' Aristagoras here finished. 'Milesian friend,' replied Cleomenes, 'in the space of three days you shall have our answer.'

L. On the day, and at the place appointed, Cleomenes inquired of Aristagoras how many days' journey it was from the Ionian sea to the dominions of the Persian king. Aristagoras, though very sagacious, and thus far successful in his views, was here guilty of an oversight. As his object was to induce the Spartans to make an incursion into Asia, it was his interest to have concealed the truth; but he inconsiderately replied that it was a journey of about three months. As he proceeded to explain himself, Cleomenes interrupted him; 'Stranger of Miletus,' said he, 'depart from Sparta before sunset: what you say cannot be agreeable to the Lacedæmonians, desiring to lead us a march of three months from the sea.' Having said this Cleomenes withdrew.

LI. Aristagoras, taking a branch of olive in his hand, presented himself before the house of Cleomenes; entering which as a suppliant, he requested an audience, at the same time desiring that the prince's daughter might retire; for it happened that Gorgo, the only child of Cleomenes, was present, a girl of about eight or nine years old: the king begged that

the presence of the child might be no obstruction to what he had to say. Aristagoras then promised to give him ten talents if he would accede to his request. As Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras rose in his offers to fifty talents; on which the child exclaimed, 'Father, unless you withdraw, this stranger will corrupt you.' The prince was delighted with the wise saying of his daughter, and instantly retired. Aristagoras was never able to obtain another audience of the king, and left Sparta in disgust.

LII. In that space of country about which Cleomenes had inquired the Persian king has various stathmi, or mansions, with excellent inns:[1] these are all splendid and beautiful; the whole of the country is richly cultivated, and the roads good and secure. In the regions of Lydia and Phrygia twenty of the above stathmi occur within the space of ninety parasangs and a half. Leaving Phrygia, you meet with the river Halys, where there are gates which are strongly defended, but which must be necessarily passed. Advancing through Cappadocia, to the confines of Cilicia, in the space of one hundred and four parasangs there are eight-and-twenty stathmi. At the entrance of Cilicia are two necks of land, both well defended; passing beyond which, through the country, are three

1 There can be little doubt but that these are the same with what are now called caravansaries, and which abound in all oriental countries; these are large square buildings, in the centre of which is a spacious court. The traveller must not expect to meet with much accommodation in these places, except that he may depend on finding water: they are esteemed sacred, and a stranger's goods, whilst he remains in one of them, are secure from pillage.

Such exactly are also the *choultries* of Indostan, many of which are buildings of great magnificence, and very curious workmanship. What the traveller has there to expect is little more than mere shelter.—T.

stathmi in the space of fifteen parasangs and a half. Cilicia, as well as Armenia, are terminated by the Euphrates, which is only passable in vessels. In Armenia, and within the space of fifty-six parasangs and a half, there are fifteen stathmi, in which also are guards: through this country flow the waters of four rivers, the passage of which is indispensable, but can only be effected in boats. Of these the first is the Tigris; by the same name also the second and the third are distinguished, though they are by no means the same, nor proceeding from the same source: of these latter the one rises in Armenia, the other from amongst the Matieni. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels. From Armenia to the country of the Matieni are four stathmi: from hence through Cissia, as far as the river Choaspes, there are eleven stathmi, and a space of forty-two parasangs and a half. The Choaspes is also to be passed in boats, and beyond this Susa is situated. Thus it appears that from Sardis to Susa are one hundred and eleven stations or stathmi.

LIII. If this measurement of the royal road by parasangs be accurate, and a parasang be supposed equal to thirty stadia, which it really is, from Sardis to the royal residence of Memnon are thirteen thousand five hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty parasangs: allowing therefore one hundred and fifty stadia to each day, the whole distance will be a journey of ninety intire days.

LIV. Aristagoras was therefore correct in telling Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian that it was a three months' march to the residence of the Persian monarch. For the benefit of those who wish to have more satisfactory information on the subject, it may

not be amiss to add the particulars of the distance betwixt Sardis and Ephesus. From the Greek sea to Susa, the name by which the city of Memnon is generally known, is fourteen thousand and forty stadia: from Ephesus to Sardis is five hundred and forty stadia: thus three days must be added to the computation of the three months.

LV. From Sparta Aristagoras went to Athens, which at this period had recovered its liberty. Aristogiton and Harmodius,[1] who were Gephyreans by descent, had put to death Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother of Hippias the tyrant. We are informed that Hipparchus had received intimation in a vision[2] of the

1 To the reader of the most common classical taste the story of these Athenians must be too familiar to require any repetition in this place.—*T.*

2 From Larcher's prolix note on the subject of Aristogiton and Harmodius I extract such particulars as I think will be most interesting to an English reader.

Harmodius is reported to have inspired the tyrant Hipparchus with an unnatural passion, who loving and being beloved by Aristogiton, communicated the secret to him, and joined with him in his resolution to destroy their persecutor. This is sufficiently contradicted with respect to the attachment betwixt Harmodius and Aristogiton, which appears to have been the true emotions of friendship only.

The courtezan Leæna, who was beloved by Harmodius, was tortured by Hippias, to make her discover the accomplices in the assassination of Hipparchus. Distrusting her own fortitude, she bit off her tongue. The Athenians, in honor of her memory, erected in the vestibule of the citadel a statue in bronze of a lioness without a tongue.

Thucydides seems willing to impute the action which caused the death of Hipparchus to a less noble motive than the love of liberty; but the contemporaries of the conspirators, and posterity, have rendered Harmodius and Aristogiton the merit which was their due.

Popular songs were made in their honor, one of which is preserved in Athenæus, b. xv. ch. xv. It is also to be seen in the Analecta of Brunck, i. 155. This song has been imputed to Alcæus; but falsely, for that poet died before Hipparchus.

disaster which afterwards befell him; though for four years after his death the people of Athens suffered greater oppression than before.

LVI. The particulars of the vision which Hipparchus saw are thus related: in the night preceding the festival of the Panathenæa[1] Hipparchus beheld a tall and comely personage, who addressed him in these ambiguous terms:

Brave lion, thy unconquer'd soul compose
To meet unmoved intolerable woes:
In vain th' oppressor would elude his fate,
The vengeance of the gods is sure, though late.

As soon as the morning appeared he disclosed what he had seen to the interpreters of dreams. He however slighted the vision, and was killed in the celebration of some public festival.

LVII. The Gephyreans, of which nation were the assassins of Hipparchus, came, as themselves affirm,

The descendants of the conspirators who destroyed the tyrant were maintained in the prytaneum at the public expense.

One of the posterity of Harmodius, proud of his birth, reproached Iphicrates with the meanness of his family: 'My nobility,' answered Iphicrates, 'commences with me, yours terminates in you.' In the very time of the decline of Athens, the love of liberty was there so hereditary and indelible, that they erected statues to the assassins of Cæsar.

1 On this subject I give, from different writers, the more interesting particulars.

The festival was in honor of Minerva. There were the greater and less Panathenæa. The less originated with Theseus: these were celebrated every year in the month Hecatombeon: the greater were celebrated every five years. In the procession on this occasion old men, selected for their good persons, carried branches of olive. There were also races with torches both on horse and foot: there was also a musical contention. The conqueror in any of these games was rewarded with a vessel of oil. There was also a dance by boys *in armor. The* vest of Minerva was carried in a *sacred procession of* persons of all ages, &c. &c.—T.

originally from Eretria. But the result of my inquiries enables me to say that they were Phœnicians, and of those who accompanied Cadmus into the region now called Bœotia, where they settled, having the district of Tanagria assigned them by lot. The Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives; the Bœotians afterwards drove out the Gephyreans, who took refuge at Athens. The Athenians enrolled them amongst their citizens, under certain restrictions of trifling importance.

LVIII. The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyreans were a part, introduced during their residence in Greece various articles of science; and amongst other things letters,[1] with which,

1 On the subject of the invention of letters it is necessary to say something; but so much has been written by others, that the task of selection, though all that is necessary, becomes sufficiently difficult.

The first introduction of letters into Greece has been generally assigned to Cadmus; but this has often been controverted; no arguments on either side have been adduced sufficiently strong to be admitted as decisive. It is probable that they were in use in Greece before Cadmus, which Diodorus Siculus confidently affirms. But Lucan, in a very enlightened period of the Roman empire, without any more intimation of doubt than is implied in the words *famæ si creditur*, wrote thus:

> Phœnicians first, if ancient fame be true,
> The sacred mystery of letters knew:
> They first by sound, in various lines design'd,
> Express'd the meaning of the thinking mind;
> The power of words by figures rude convey'd,
> And useful science everlasting made.
> Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,
> Engrav'd her precepts and her arts in stone;
> While animals, in various order placed,
> The learned hieroglyphic column graced.—*Rowe.*

To this opinion, concerning the use of hieroglyphics, Bishop Warburton accedes, in his Divine Legation of Moses, who thinks that they were the production of an unimproved state of society, as yet unacquainted with alphabetical writ-

as I conceive, the Greeks were before unacquainted. These were at first such as the Phœnicians themselves indiscriminately use: in process of time, however, they were changed both in sound and form.[1] At that time the Greeks most contiguous to this people were the Ionians, who learned these letters of the Phœnicians, and, with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phœnicians first made them known in Greece they called them, as justice required, Phœnician letters. By a very ancient custom the Ionians call their books diphtheræ, or skins, because at

ing. With respect to this opinion of Herodotus, many learned men thought it worthy of credit, from the resemblance betwixt the old eastern and earliest Greek characters, which is certainly an argument of some weight.

No European nation ever pretended to the honor of this discovery: the Romans confessed they had it from the Greeks, the Greeks from the Phœnicians.

Pliny says the use of letters was eternal; and many have made no scruple of ascribing them to a divine revelation. Our countryman Mr. Astle, who has written perhaps the best on this complicated subject, has this expression, with which I shall conclude the subject.

'The vanity of each nation induces them to pretend to the most early civilization: but such is the uncertainty of ancient history, that it is difficult to determine to whom the honor is due. It should seem, however, that the contest may be confined to the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Cadmeans.'—*T.*

1 The remark of Dr. Gillies on this passage seems worthy of attention.

'The eastern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much disputed whether the ancient orientals used any characters to express them: their languages therefore had an inflexible thickness of sound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumstance denotes in the Greeks organs of perception more acute, elegant, and discerning. They felt such faint variations of liquid sounds as escaped the dulness of Asiatic ears, and invented marks to express them. They distinguished in this manner *not only their* articulation, but their quantity, and *afterwards their musical* intonation.'

a time when the plant of the biblos was scarce they used instead of it the skins of goats and sheep. Many of the barbarians have used these skins for this purpose within my recollection.

LIX. I myself have seen, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, at Thebes of Bœotia, these Cadmean letters inscribed on some tripods, and having a near resemblance to those used by the Ionians. One of the tripods has this inscription:[1]

Amphitryon's present from Teleboan spoils.

This must have been about the age of Laius, son of Labdacus, whose father was Polydore, the son of Cadmus.

LX. On the second tripod are these hexameter verses:—

Scæus, victorious pugilist, bestow'd
Me, a fair offering, on the Delphic god.

This Scæus was the son of Hippocoon, if indeed it was he who dedicated the tripod, and not another person of the same name, contemporary with Œdipus the son of Laius.

LXI. The third tripod bears this inscription in hexameters:—

Royal Laodamas to Phœbus' shrine
This tripod gave, of workmanship divine.

Under this Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, who had the supreme power, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and fled to the Encheleans. The Gephyreans were compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens.[2] Here they built temples for their own par-

1 Some curious inscriptions on the shields of the warriors who were engaged in the siege of the capital of Eteocles are preserved in the 'Seven against Thebes of Æschylus,' to which the reader is referred.

2 They were permitted to settle on the borders of the Ce-

ticular use, resembling in no respect those of the Athenians, as may be seen in the edifice and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.

LXII. Thus have I related the vision of Hipparchus, and the origin of the Gephyreans, from whom the conspirators against Hipparchus were descended: but it will here be proper to explain more at length the particular means by which the Athenians recovered their liberty, which I was beginning to do before. Hippias had succeeded to the supreme authority, and, as appeared by his conduct, greatly resented the death of Hipparchus. The Alcmæonidæ, who were of Athenian origin, had been driven from their country by the Pisistratidæ: they had, in conjunction with some other exiles, made an effort to recover their former situations and to deliver their country from its oppressors, but were defeated with considerable loss. They retired to Lipsydrium, beyond Pæonia, which they fortified, still meditating vengeance against the Pisistratidæ. Whilst they were thus circumstanced the amphictyons [1] engaged them

phissus, which separates Attica from Eleusis: there they built a bridge, in order to have a free communication on both sides. I am of opinion that bridges took their name from these people. The author of the Etymologicum Magnum pretends that the people were called Gephyreans from this bridge; but it is very certain that they bore this name before they settled in Attica.—*Larcher*.

1 The amphictyons were an assembly composed of deputies from the different states of Greece. Each state sent two deputies, one to examine into what related to the ceremonies of religion, the other to decide disputes betwixt individuals. Their general residence was at Delphi, and they determined disputes betwixt the different states of Greece. Before they proceeded to business they sacrificed an ox cut into small pieces: their decisions were sacred, and without appeal. They met twice in the year, in spring and in autumn. In spring at *Delphi, in autumn* at Thermopylæ.

This council represented but a certain number of the states

on certain terms to construct that which is now the temple of Delphi, but which did not exist before. They were not deficient in point of wealth; and, warmed with the generous spirit of their race, they erected a temple far exceeding the model which had been given, in splendor and in beauty. Their agreement only obliged them to construct it of the stone of Porus,[1] but they built the vestibule of Parian marble.

LXIII. These men, as the Athenians relate, during their continuance at Delphi bribed the Pythian to propose to every Spartan who should consult her, in a private or public capacity, the deliverance of Athens. The Lacedæmonians, hearing incessantly the same thing repeated to them, sent an army under the conduct of Anchimolius, son of Aster, a man of a very popular character, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens. They in this respect violated some very ancient ties of hospitality; but they thought it better became them to listen to the commands of Heaven than to any human consideration. These forces were despatched by sea; and being driven to Phalerus, were there disembarked by Anchimolius. The Pisistratidæ being aware of this, applied for assistance to the Thessalians, with whom they were in alliance. The people of Thessaly obeyed the summons, and sent them a thousand horse, commanded by Cineas

of Greece; but these were the principal and most powerful. —*T.*

1 This stone resembled the Parian marble in whiteness and hardness; but, according to Pliny and Theophrastus, it was less ponderous. Of the marble of Paros I have spoken elsewhere. Larcher remarks that Phidias, Praxiteles, and the more eminent sculptors of antiquity, always preferred it for *their* works. Tournefort without hesitation prefers the marbles of Italy to those of Greece.

their king, a native of Coniæus: on the arrival of their allies the Pisistratidæ levelled all the country about Phalerus; and thus enabling the cavalry to act, they sent them against the Spartans. They accordingly attacked the enemy, and killed several, amongst whom was Anchimolius. Those who escaped were driven to their vessels. Thus succeeded the first attempt of the Lacedæmonians. The tomb of Anchimolius is still to be seen near the temple of Hercules, in Cynosarges,[1] in the district of Alopece in Attica.

LXIV. The Lacedæmonians afterwards sent a greater body of forces against Athens, not by sea but by land, under the direction of their king Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides. These, on their first entrance into Attica, were attacked by the Thessalian horse, who were presently routed, with the loss of forty of their men; the remainder retired without any farther efforts into Thessaly. Cleomenes, advancing to the city, was joined by those Athenians who desired to be free; in conjunction with whom he besieged the tyrants in the Pelasgian citadel.

LXV. The Lacedæmonians would have found themselves finally inadequate to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, for they were totally unprepared for a

1 This place gave name to the sect of the Cynics. It was a gymnasium, or place for public exercises, annexed to a temple, and situated near one of the gates of Athens. The origin of its appellation *Cynosarges* is thus related: an Athenian named Didymus was performing a sacrifice in his house, but was interrupted by a large white dog, which coming in unexpectedly, seized the victim, carried it off, and left it in another place. Much disturbed by an accident so inauspicious, Didymus consulted the oracle in what manner he might avert the omen: he was told to build a temple to Hercules in the place where the dog had deposited the victim: he did *so, and called it Cynosarges*, which that name expresses. —*T.*

siege, whilst their adversaries were well provided with necessaries. After therefore continuing the blockade for a few days they were about to return to Sparta, when an accident happened, as fatal to one party as favorable to the other. The children of the Pisistratidæ, in their attempts privately to escape, were taken prisoners: this incident reduced them to extreme perplexity; so that finally, to recover their children, they submitted to such terms as the Athenians imposed, and engaged to leave Attica within five days. Thus, after enjoying the supreme authority for thirty-six years, they retired to Sigeum, beyond the Scamander. They were in their descent Pylians, of the family of Peleus: they were by birth related to Codrus and Melanthus, who had also arrived at the principality of Athens, though strangers like themselves; in memory of which Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, had named his son from the son of Nestor. The Athenians were thus delivered from oppression; and it will now be my business to commemorate such prosperous or calamitous events as they experienced after they had thus recovered their liberties, before Ionia had revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras the Milesian had arrived at Athens to supplicate assistance.

LXVI. Athens was considerable before; but, its liberty being restored, it became greater than ever. Of its citizens, two enjoyed more than common reputation: Clisthenes, of the family of the Alcmæonidæ, who according to the voice of fame had corrupted the Pythian; and Isagoras, son of Tisander, who was certainly of an illustrious origin, but whose particular descent I am not able to specify. The individuals of this family sacrifice to the Carian Jupiter.[1] These two

1 The Carians were exceedingly contemned, and they were regarded as slaves, because they were the first who let out

men, in their contention for superiority, divided the state into factions: Clisthenes, who was worsted by his rival, found means to conciliate the favor of the people. The four tribes,[1] which were before named from the sons of Ion, Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, he divided into ten; naming them according to his fancy, from the heroes of his country. One however he called after Ajax, who had been the neighbor and ally to his nation.

LXVII. In this particular Clisthenes seems to me to have imitated his grandfather of the same name by his mother's side, who was prince of Sicyon: this Clisthenes, having been engaged in hostilities with the Argives, abolished at Sicyon the poetical contests of the rhapsodists,[2] which he was induced to do, be-

troops for hire; for which reason they were exposed to the most perilous enterprises. This people had a temple common to themselves, with the Lydians and Mysians: this was called the temple of the Carian Jupiter. They who sacrificed to the Carian Jupiter acknowleged themselves to have been originally from Caria. Plutarch does not omit this opportunity of reproaching Herodotus; and indeed this is amongst the very few instances of his having justice on his side.—*T.*

1 The names of the four ancient tribes of Athens varied at different times: they were afterwards, as in this place represented, multiplied into ten; two others were then added. Each of these ten tribes, like so many different republics, had their presidents, officers of police, tribunals, assemblies, and different interests. Fifty senators were elected as representatives of each tribe, which of course made the aggregate representation of the state of Athens amount to five hundred. The motive of Clisthenes in dividing the Athenians into ten tribes was a remarkable instance of political sagacity; till then any one tribe uniting with a second must have rendered any contest equal. The names here inserted have been the subject of much learned controversy. An inscription published by Count Caylus has at length removed many of the difficulties.

2 *This word is compounded* either of ῥαπτω, to sew, or *ῥαβδος, a rod or branch,* and ᾠδη, a song or poem. According

cause in the verses of Homer, which were there rally selected for this purpose, Argos and its i tants were such frequent objects of praise. Fro

to the first derivation it signifies a poet, author of songs or poems which are connected together, maki poem, of which the different parts may be detached parately recited. According to the second, it sig singer, who holding in his hand a branch of laurel, either his own compositions or those of some cel poet.

Hesiod inclines to the former etymology. Homer, I &c. were rhapsodists in this sense: they compose poems in different books and parts, which uniting to made one perfect composition. The ancient poets we country to country, and from town to town, to instr amuse the people by the recital of their verses, who in treated them with great honors, and much liberality. Tl ancient rhapsodist on record is Phemius, whom Home being his disciple, immortalises in his Odyssey. Tl probable opinion is, that in singing the verses whic themselves composed, they carried in their hand a br laurel. The rhapsodists of the second kind were inv feasts and public sacrifices, to sing the poems of Or Musæus, Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylid in particular of Homer. These were satisfied with r the compositions of others, and certainly carried a br laurel, which particularly has been disputed with res the first.

They were also called Homerides or Homerists, b they generally recited verses from Homer.

They sung sitting on a raised chair, accompanyin verses with a cithera or some other instrument, and in a crown of gold was given them. In process of ti words rhapsodist and rhapsody became terms of con from the abuse which the rhapsodists made of their sion; and at the present day the term rhapsody is app a number of vile pieces ill put together.—*Larcher.*

The note above given from Larcher will necessaril to the mind of the English reader the character and o our ancient bards, whom the rhapsodists of old in respects resembled. Of the two, the bards were perha more honorable, as they confined themselves to the of the valorous actions of heroes, and of such sentim inspired bravery and virtue. In our language also rh is now always used in a bad sense; but it was not so more ancient writers, and our poets in particular.—T

same motive he was solicitous to expel the relics of Adrastus, an Argive, the son of Talaus, which were deposited in the forum of Sicyon; he went therefore to inquire of the Delphic oracle whether he might expel Adrastus. The Pythian said, in reply, that Adrastus was a prince of Sicyon, whilst he himself was a robber. Meeting with this repulse from the oracle, he on his return concerted other means to rid himself of Adrastus. Thinking he had accomplished this, he sent to Thebes of Bœotia to bring back Melanippus, a native of Sicyon, and son of Astacus. By the consent of the Thebans his request was granted: he then erected to his honor a shrine in the prytaneum, and deposited his remains in a place strongly fortified. His motive for thus bringing back Melanippus, which ought not to be omitted, was the great enmity which subsisted betwixt him and Adrastus; and farther, because Melanippus had been accessary to the deaths of Mecistus, the brother, and Tydeus, the son-in-law of Adrastus. When the shrine was completed, Clisthenes assigned to Melanippus the sacrifices and festivals which before had been appropriated to Adrastus, and solemnised by the Sicyonians with the greatest pomp and magnificence. This district had formerly been under the sovereignty of Polybus; who dying without children, had left his dominions to Adrastus, his grandson by a daughter. Amongst other marks of honor which the Sicyonians paid the memory of Adrastus, they commemorated in tragic choruses[1] his personal misfortunes, to the

1 'It may be inferred,' says Larcher, 'from this passage, that Thespis was not the inventor of tragedy;' and he quotes Themistius as saying, 'The Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy, but the Athenians brought it to perfection.' Suidas also at the word Thespis, says, that Epigenes of Sicyon was

neglect even of Bacchus. But Clisthenes appropriated the choruses to Bacchus, and the other solemnities to Melanippus.

LXVIII. He changed also the names of the Doric tribes, that those of the Sicyonians might be altogether different from those of the Argives, by which means he made the Sicyonians extremely ridiculous. He distinguished the other tribes by the words Hys and Onos,[1] superadding only their respective terminations: to his own tribe he prefixed the word Arche, expressive of authority; those of his own tribe were therefore termed Archelaens; of the others, some were called Hyatæ, some Oneatæ, others Chæræatæ. The Sicyonians were known by these appellations during

the first tragedian, and Thespis only the sixteenth. M. Larcher is of a contrary opinion, but avoids any discussion of the argument, as beyond the proposed limits of his plan.

To exhibit a chorus, was to purchase a dramatic piece of an author, and defray the expense of its representation. This at Athens was the office of the archon, at Rome of the ædiles. The following passage from Lysias may serve to explain the ancient chorus with regard to its variety and expense.

'When Theopompus was archon I was furnisher to a tragic chorus, and I laid out thirty minæ: afterwards I got the victóry with the chorus of men, and it cost me twenty minæ. When Glaucippus was archon I laid out eight minæ on the pyrrichists: when Diocles was archon I laid out on the cyclian chorus three minæ: afterwards, when Alexius was archon, I furnished a chorus of boys, and it cost me fifteen minæ: when Euclides was archon I was at the charge of sixteen minæ on the comedians, and of seven on the young pyrrichists.'

From which it appears that the tragic was the most expensive chorus; and its splendor in aftertimes became so extravagant, that Horace complains the spectators minded more what they saw than what they heard. The business of the chorus at its first institution was to sing dithyrambic verses in honor of Bacchus. How it afterwards became improved and extended, has been too often and too well discussed to require any elaborate discussion in this place.—T.

1 Literally, a swine and an ass.

the time of Clisthenes, and for sixty years afterwards. After this period, in consequence of a consultation held amongst themselves, they changed these names to Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanatæ. To these they added a fourth tribe, which, in honor of Ægialeus, son of Adrastus, they called Ægialeans.

LXIX. Such was the conduct of Clisthenes of Sicyon. The Clisthenes of Athens, grandson of the former by a daughter, and named after him, was, as it appears to me, desirous of imitating him from whom he was called. To show his contempt of the Ionians he would not suffer the tribes of Athens to bear any resemblance to those of Ionia. Having conciliated his countrymen, who had before been averse to him, he changed the names of the tribes, and increased their number. Instead of four phylarchi he made ten, into which number of tribes he also divided the people; by which means he so conciliated their favor that he obtained a decided superiority over his opponents.[1]

LXX. Isagoras, though overcome, endeavored to recover his importance; he accordingly applied to Cleomenes the Spartan, with whom he had formed the tie of hospitality whilst he was besieging the Pisistratidæ, and who had been suspected of improper conduct towards Isagoras' wife. The Lacedæmonian prince, sending a herald before him, pronounced sen-

1 Clisthenes and Isagoras had no intention of becoming tyrants, and were united to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens: but they were not at all the more harmonious on this account. The first desired to establish a democracy; and to accomplish it he gave the people more authority than ever they possessed before, by distributing them into a greater number of tribes, making them by these means the less easy to be gained. Isagoras, on the contrary, wished to establish an aristocracy; and as he could not possibly succeed in his views, unless by *force*, he therefore *invited the Lacedæmonians to assist him.*—*Larcher.*

tence of expulsion against Clisthenes, and many other Athenians, on pretence of their being polluted by sacrilegious murder. Isagoras prevailed on him to make this his excuse, because the Alcmæonidæ, with those of their party, had been guilty of a murder, in which neither Isagoras nor any of his followers were concerned.

LXXI. The reason why these Athenians were called polluted was this: Cylon, a native of Athens, who had obtained the prize in the Olympic games, had been convicted of designs on the government; for having procured a number of young men of the same age with himself, he endeavored to seize the citadel. Disappointed in his hopes, he with his companions placed themselves before the shrine of Minerva as suppliants. The prytanes of the Naucrari,[1] who then governed Athens, persuaded them to leave this sanctuary, under a promise that their lives should not be forfeited. Their being soon afterwards put to death was generally imputed to the Alcmæonidæ.—These events happened before the time of Pisistratus.

LXXII. Cleomenes having thus ordered the expulsion of Clisthenes, and the other Enagees, though

1 I shall endeavor, as concisely as possible, to make this intelligible to the English reader.

The magistrates of Athens were composed of the archons, the areopagites, and the senate of five hundred. When the people of Athens consisted only of four tribes one hundred were elected by lot from each tribe; when afterwards they were divided into ten, fifty were chosen from each tribe: these were the prytanes, and they governed the city by turns. Each body of fifty, according to Solon's establishment, ruled for the space of thirty-five days, not all at once, but in regular divisions of their body for a certain limited time. To expatiate on the subject of the prytanes, the particulars of their duty, and their various subdivisions into other responsible magistracies, would require a long dissertation.—T.

Clisthenes had privately retired,[1] came soon afterwards to Athens with a small number of attendants. His first step was to send into exile, as polluted, seven hundred Athenian families, which Isagoras pointed out to him. He next proceeded to dissolve the senate, and to intrust the offices of government with three hundred of the faction of Isagoras. The senate exerted themselves, and positively refused to acquiesce in his projects: on which Cleomenes, with Isagoras and his party, seized the citadel: they were here, for the space of two days, besieged by the Athenians in a body, who took the part of the senate. On the third day certain terms were offered and accepted, and the Spartans all of them departed from Athens: thus was an omen which had happened to Cleomenes accomplished: for when he was employed in the seizure of the citadel he desired to enter the adytum and consult the goddess: the priestess, as he was about to open the doors, rose from her seat, and forbade him in these terms: 'Lacedæmonian, return; presume not to enter here, where no admittance is permitted to a Dorian.'—'I,' returned Cleomenes, 'am not a Dorian, but an Achean.' This omen however had no influence on his conduct; he persevered in what he had undertaken, and with his Lacedæmonians was a second time foiled. The Athenians who had joined themselves to him were

1 We are told by Ælian that Clisthenes, having introduced the law of the ostracism, was the first who was punished by it. Few English readers will require to be informed that the ostracism was the Athenian sentence of banishment, determined by the people writing the name of the person to be banished on an oyster-shell.

The punishment itself was not always deemed dishonorable, for the victim, during the term of his banishment, which was ten years, enjoyed his estate. A person could not be banished by the ostracism unless an assembly of six thousand were present.—*T.*

put in irons, and condemned to die: amongst these was Timesitheus of Delphi, concerning whose gallantry and spirit I am able to produce many testimonies. These Athenians were put to death in prison.

LXXIII. The Athenians, having recalled Clisthenes and the seven hundred families expelled by Cleomenes, sent ambassadors to Sardis to form an alliance with the Persians; for they were well convinced that they should have to support a war against Cleomenes and Sparta. On their arrival at Sardis, and explaining the nature of their commission, Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and chief magistrate of Sardis, inquired of them who they were, and where they lived, desiring to become the allies of Persia. Being satisfied in this particular, he made them this abrupt proposition: if the Athenians would send to Darius earth and water he would form an alliance with them; if not, they were immediately to depart. After deliberating on the subject they acceded to the terms proposed; for which, on their return to Athens, they were severely reprehended.

LXXIV. Cleomenes, knowing that he was reproached, and feeling that he was injured by the Athenians, levied forces in the different parts of the Peloponnesus, without giving any intimation of the object he had in view. He proposed, however, to take vengeance on Athens, and to place the government in the hands of Isagoras, who with him had been driven from the citadel: with a great body of forces he himself took possession of Eleusis, whilst the Bœotians, as had been agreed on, seized Oenoë and Hysias, towns in the extremity of Attica: on another side the Chalcidians laid waste the Athenian territories. The Athenians, however, perplexed by these different attacks, deferred their revenge on the Bœotians and

Chalcidians, and marched with their army against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis.

LXXV. Whilst the two armies were prepared to engage, the Corinthians first of all, as if conscious of their having acted an unjustifiable part, turned their backs and retired. Their example was followed by Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was also a king of Sparta, had conducted a body of forces from Lacedæmon, and till now had seconded Cleomenes in all his measures. On account of the dissension between their princes the Spartans passed a law forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the same time. They determined also that one of the Tyndaridæ should remain with the prince who was left at home; both of whom, till now, had accompanied them on foreign expeditions. The rest of the confederates at Eleusis, perceiving this disunion of the princes, and the secession of the Corinthians, returned to their respective homes.

LXXVI. This was the fourth time that the Dorians had entered Attica; twice as enemies, and twice with pacific and friendly views. Their first expedition was to establish a colony at Megara, which was when Codrus[1] reigned at Athens. They came from Sparta the second and third time to expel the Pisistratidæ. The fourth time was when Cleomenes and the Peloponnesians attacked Eleusis.

1 Of this Codrus the following story is related:—The Dorians of the Peloponnesus, as here mentioned, marched against the Athenians, and were promised success from the oracle of Delphi, provided they did not kill Codrus the Athenian prince. Cleomantis of Delphi gave intimation of this to the Athenians; on which Codrus left his camp, in the habit of a beggar, mingled with the enemy's troops, and provoked some amongst them to kill him: when the Athenians sent to demand *the body of their* prince the Peloponnesians, *on hearing the incident,* retreated.—*T.*

LXXVII. The Athenians, observing the adversary's army thus ignominiously diminish, gave place to the desire of revenge, and determined first to attack the Chalcidians; to assist whom the Bœotians advanced as far as the Euripus.[1] On sight of them the Athenians resolved to attack them before the Chalcidians: they accordingly gave them battle, and obtained a complete victory; killing a prodigious number, and taking seven hundred prisoners. On the same day they passed into Eubœa, and fought the Chalcidians; over these also they were victorious, and they left a colony to the number of four thousand on the lands of the Hippobotæ, by which name the most opulent of the Chalcidians were distinguished. Such of these as they took prisoners, as well as their Bœotian captives, they at first put in irons, and kept in close confinement: they afterwards suffered them to be ransomed at two minæ a man, suspending their chains from the citadel. These were to be seen even within my memory, hanging from the walls which were burnt by the Medes, near the temple facing the west. The tenth part of the money produced from the ransom of their prisoners was consecrated; with it they purchased a chariot of brass for four horses: it was placed at the left hand side of the entrance of the citadel, with this inscription:—

1 This was the name of the very narrow strait between Bœotia and Eubœa, where the sea was said by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times a day. It was rendered more memorable, because Aristotle was reported here to have destroyed himself from mortification, being unable to explain the cause of this phenomenon. It afterwards became an appellation for any strait of the sea.

The circumstance of the ebb and flow of the sea in this place happening seven times a day is mentioned in the *Hercules* of Seneca.—*T.*

Her arms, when Chalcis and Bœotia tried,
Athens in chains and darkness quell'd their pride:
Their ransom paid, the tenths are here bestow'd,
A votive gift to fav'ring Pallas owed.

LXXVIII. The Athenians continued to increase in number and importance: not from their example alone, but from various instances, it may be made appear that an equal form of government is the best. Whilst the Athenians were in subjection to tyrants they were superior in war to none of their neighbors; but when delivered from their oppressors they far surpassed them all; from whence it is evident, that whilst under the restraint of a master they were incapable of any spirited exertions, but as soon as they obtained their liberty each man zealously exercised his talents on his own account.

LXXIX. The Thebans after this, desirous of obtaining revenge, sent to consult the oracle. In reply, the Pythian assured them, that of themselves they would be unable to accomplish this. She recommended them to consult their popular assembly, and to apply to their nearest neighbors for assistance. Those employed in this business called on their return an assembly of their countrymen, to whom they communicated the reply of the oracle. Hearing that they were required to ask assistance of their neighbors, they deliberated amongst themselves. 'What!' said some of them, 'do not the Tanagræi, the Coronei,[1] and the Thespians, who are our neighbors, constantly act in concert with us? do they not always assist us in war with the most friendly and spirited exertions? To these there can be no occasion to apply: the oracle must therefore have some other meaning.'

1 Of Coronea a very singular circumstance is related, that *whereas all the rest of* Bœotia abounded with moles, not one *was ever seen in Coronea.—T.*

LXXX. Whilst they were thus debating some one amongst them exclaimed, 'I think that I am able to penetrate the meaning of the oracle: Asopus is reported to have had two daughters, Thebe and Ægina; as these were sisters, I am inclined to believe that the deity would have us apply to the Æginetæ to assist us in obtaining revenge.' The Thebans, not being able to devise any more plausible interpretation, thought that they acted in conformity to the will of the oracle by sending to the Æginetæ for assistance, as to their nearest neighbors; who, in return, engaged to send the Æacidæ[1] to their aid.

LXXXI. The Thebans, relying on the assistance of the Æacidæ, commenced hostilities with the Athenians; but they met with so ill a reception, that they determined to send back the Æacidæ, and to require the aid of some troops. The application was favorably received, and the Æginetæ, confident in their riches, and mindful of their ancient enmity with the Athenians, began hostilities against them without any formal declaration of war. Whilst the forces of Athens were solely employed against the Bœotians they passed over with a fleet into Attica, and not only plundered Phaleros, but almost all the inhabitants of the coast; by which the Athenians sustained considerable injury.

LXXXII. The first occasion of the enmity between the Æginetæ and the Athenians was this:—the Epidaurians being afflicted by a severe and continued famine, consulted the Delphic oracle: the Pythian enjoined them to erect statues to Damia and Auxesia, promising that their situation would then be amended.

1 M. Larcher is of opinion that Herodotus here speaks not of any persons, but of images representing the Æacidæ, which the Æginetæ lent the Thebans.

The Epidaurians next inquired, whether they should construct these statues of brass or of stone. The priestess replied, of neither, but of the wood of the garden olive. The Epidaurians, in consequence, applied to the Athenians for permission to take one of their olives, believing these of all others the most sacred; indeed it is said that at this period olives were nowhere else to be found. The Athenians granted their request, on condition that they should every year furnish a sacrifice to Minerva Polias and to Erectheus. The Epidaurians acceding to these terms, constructed of the Athenian olive the figures which had been enjoined, and as their lands immediately became fruitful, they punctually fulfilled their engagements with the Athenians.

LXXXIII. At and before this period the Æginetæ were so far in subjection to the Epidaurians, that all subjects of litigation betwixt themselves and the people of Epidaurus were determined among the latter. In process of time they built themselves a fleet, and revolted from their allegiance; becoming still more powerful, they made themselves masters of the sea, and plundered their former masters, carrying away the images of Damia and Auxesia. These they deposited in the centre of their own territories, in a place called Œa, about twenty stadia from their city: having done this they instituted sacrifices in their honor, with ludicrous choruses of women, assigning to each of these goddesses ten men, who were to preside over the choruses. These choruses did not insult any male, but the females of the country. The Epidaurians had dances similar to these, with other ceremonies which were mysterious.

LXXXIV. From the time of their losing these *images, the Epidaurians* ceased to observe their en-

gagements with the Athenians, who sent to remonstrate with them on the occasion. They made reply, that in this respect they were guilty of no injustice, for as long as they possessed the images they had fulfilled all that was expected from them; having lost these, their obligation became void, devolving from them to the Æginetæ. On receiving this answer, the Athenians sent to Ægina to demand the images; but the Æginetæ denied that the Athenians had any business with them.

LXXXV. The Athenians relate that after this refusal of their demand, they sent the persons before employed in this business in a vessel to Ægina. As these images were made of the wood of Athens, they were commissioned to carry them away from the place where they stood; but their attempt to do this not prevailing, they endeavored to remove them with ropes. In the midst of their efforts they were alarmed by an earthquake, and loud claps of thunder; those employed were seized with a madness, which caused them to kill one another; one only survived, who immediately fled to Phalerus.

LXXXVI. The above is the Athenian account. The Æginetæ affirm that this expedition was not made in a single vessel; for the attacks of one, or even of many vessels, they could easily have repelled, even if they had possessed no ships of their own; but they say that the Athenians invaded them with a powerful fleet; in consequence of which they retired, not choosing to hazard a naval engagement. It is however by no means evident, whether they declined a sea-fight from a want of confidence in their own power, or whether they retired voluntarily and from design. It is certain that the Athenians, meeting with no resistance, advanced to the place where the images stood, and not

able to separate them from their bases, they dragged them along with ropes; during which, both the figures did what seems incredible to me, whatever it may to others. They assert that they both fell on their knees, in which attitude they have ever since remained. Such were the proceedings of the Athenians. The people of Ægina, according to their own account, hearing of the hostile intentions of the Athenians, took care that the Argives should be ready to assist them. As soon therefore as the Athenians landed at Ægina the Argives were at hand, and unperceived by the enemy, passed over from Epidaurus to the island, whence intercepting their retreat to their ships, they fell on the Athenians; at which moment of time an earthquake happened, accompanied with thunder.

LXXXVII. In their relation of the above circumstances the Æginetæ and the Argives concur. The Athenians acknowlege that one only of their countrymen returned to Attica; but this man the Argives say was the sole survivor of a defeat which they gave the Athenians; whilst these affirm that he escaped from the vengeance of the divinity, which however he did not long elude, for he afterwards perished in this manner: when he returned to Athens, and related at large the destruction of his countrymen, the wives of those who had been engaged in the expedition against Ægina were extremely exasperated that he alone should survive; they accordingly surrounded the man, and each of them asking for her husband, they wounded him with the clasps[1] of their garments, till he died. This

1 Various specimens of ancient clasps or buckles may be seen in Montfaucon, the generality of which resemble a bow that is strung. Montfaucon rejects the opinion of those who affirm that the buckles, of which various ancient specimens were *preserved, were only* stylli, or instruments to write *with.—'The stylli,' he* adds, 'were long pins, and much

behavior of their women was to the Athenians more afflicting than the misfortune which preceded it: all however they could do was to make them afterwards assume the Ionian dress. Before this incident the women of Athens wore the Doric vest, which much resembles the Corinthian; that they might have no occasion for clasps, they obliged them to wear linen tunics.

LXXXVIII. It seems reasonable to believe that the vest was not originally Ionian but Carian: formerly the dress of the Grecian females was universally the same with what we now call Dorian. It is reported that the Argives and the Æginetæ, in opposition to the above ordinance of the Athenians, directed their women to wear clasps, almost twice as large as usual, and ordained these to be the particular votive offering made by the women in the temples of the above divinities. They were suffered to offer there nothing which was Attic; even the common earthen vessels were prohibited, of which they were allowed to use none but what were made in their own country. Such,

stronger than the pins with which they fastened the buckles anciently.' When Julius Cæsar was assassinated, he defended himself with his stylus, and thrust it through the arm of Casca. When the learned Frenchman says that the ancient clasps or buckles could not possibly serve for offensive weapons, he probably was not acquainted with the fact here mentioned by Herodotus. An elegant use is made by Homer of the probability of a wound's being inflicted by a clasp: when Venus, having been wounded [illegible] d, retires from the field, Minerva says [illegible]

Permit thy [illegible]

even to my time, has been the contradictory spirit of the women of Argos and Ægina, with respect to those of Athens, that the former persevered in wearing their clasps larger than before.

LXXXIX. This which I have related was the origin of the animosity between the people of Athens and Ægina. The latter still having in mind the whole grievance of the statues, readily yielded to the solicitations of the Thebans, and assisted the Bœotians by ravaging the coast of Attica. Whilst the Athenians were preparing to revenge the injury, they were warned by a communication from the Delphic oracle to refrain from all hostilities with the people of Ægina for the space of thirty years; at the termination of this period they were to erect a fane to Æacus, and might then commence offensive operations against the Æginetæ with success; but if they immediately began hostilities, although they would do the enemy essential injury, and finally subdue them, they would in the interval suffer much themselves. On receiving this communication from the oracle the Athenians erected a sacred edifice to Æacus,[1] which may now be seen in their forum; but notwithstanding the menace impending over them, they were unable to defer the prosecution of their revenge for the long period of thirty years.

XC. Whil[illegible] re thus preparing for revenge their desig[illegible] ded by what happened at Lacedæmon. [illegible] having discover[illegible]

[1] The [illegible] is related in O[illegible] of Æacus, [illegible] myrmid[illegible] Anglici[illegible] by no [illegible]

trigues between the Alcmæonidæ and the Pythian, and what this last had done against the Pisistratidæ and themselves, perceived that they were involved in a double disappointment. Without at all conciliating the Athenians, they had expelled from thence their own friends and allies. They were also seriously impressed by certain oracles, which taught them to expect from the Athenians many and great calamities. Of these they were intirely ignorant till they were made known by Cleomenes at Sparta. Cleomenes had discovered and seized them in the citadel of Athens, where they had been originally deposited by the Pisistratidæ, who, on being expelled, had left them in the temple.

XCI. On hearing from Cleomenes the above oracular declarations the Lacedæmonians observed that the Athenians increased in power, and were but little inclined to remain subject to them: they farther reflected, that though when oppressed by tyrants the people of Athens were weak and submissive, the possession of liberty would not fail to make them formidable rivals. In consequence of these deliberations they sent for Hippias the son of Pisistratus from Sigeum on the Hellespont, where the Pisistratidæ had taken refuge. On his arrival they assembled also the representatives of their other allies, and thus expressed themselves: 'We confess to you, friends and allies, that under the impression of oracles, which deceived us, we have greatly erred. The men who had claims on our kindness, and who would have rendered Athens obedient to our will, we have banished from their country, and have delivered that city into the power of an ungrateful faction. Not remembering that to us they are indebted for their liberty, they are become insolent, and have expelled disgracefully from

amongst them us and our king. They are endeavoring, we hear, to make themselves more and more formidable; this their neighbors the Bœotians and Chalcidians have already experienced, as will others also who may happen to offend them. To atone for our past errors and neglect, we now profess ourselves ready to assist you in chastising them: for this reason we have sent for Hippias, and assembled you; intending, by the joint operations of one united army to restore him to Athens, and to that dignity of which we formerly deprived him.'

XCII. These sentiments of the Spartans were approved by very few of the confederates. After a long interval of silence Sosicles of Corinth made this reply: 'We may henceforth certainly expect to see the heavens take the place of the earth,[1] the earth that of the heavens; to see mankind existing in the waters, and the scaly tribe on earth, since you, O Lacedæmonians, meditate the subversion of free and equal governments, and the establishment of arbitrary power; than which surely nothing can be more unjust in itself, or more sanguinary in its effects. If you consider tyranny with so favorable an eye, before you think of introducing it elsewhere show us the example, and submit first to a tyrant yourselves; at present, you are not only without a tyrant, but it should seem that in Sparta nothing can be guarded against with more vigilant anxiety: why then wish to involve your confederates in what to you appears so great a calamity; a calamity which, like us, if you had known, experience would doubtless have prompted a more sagacious counsel. The government of Corinth was formerly in the hands of a few; they who were

1 With a sentiment similar to this Ovid commences one of *his most beautiful elegies.*

called the Bacchiadæ had the administration of affairs. To cement and confirm their authority, they were careful to contract no marriages but amongst themselves. One of these, whose name was Amphion, had a daughter called Labda,[1] who was lame. As none of the Bacchiadæ were willing to marry her, they united her to Eetion, son of Echecrates, who, though of the low tribe of Petra, was in his origin one of the Lapithæ,[2] descended from Cæneus. As he had no children by this or by any other wife, he went to Delphi to consult the oracle on the subject. At the moment of his entering the temple he was thus addressed by the Pythian:—

> Eetion, honor'd far below thy worth,
> Know Labda shall produce a monstrous birth;
> A stone, which, rolling with enormous weight,
> Shall crush usurpers, and reform the state.

This prediction to Eetion came by accident to the ears of the Bacchiadæ. An oracle had before spoken concerning Corinth, which, though dark and obscure, was evidently of the same tendency with that declared to Eetion: it was this:—

1 This, says M. Larcher, was not her real name, but was given her on account of the resemblance which her lameness made her bear to the letter L, or Lambda. Anciently the letter Lambda was called Labda. It was the common custom amongst the ancients to give as nicknames the letters of the alphabet. Æsop was called Theta, by his master Iadmus, from his superior acuteness, Thetes being also a name for slaves. Galerius Crassus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius, was called Beta, because he loved beet (poirée). Orpyllis, a courtesan of Cyzicum, was named Gamma; Anthenor, who wrote the history of Crete, was called Delta; Apollonius, who lived in the time of Philopater, was named Epsilon, &c.—Larcher.

2 The Lapithæ were celebrated in antiquity, as being the first who used bridles and harness for horses.

Amidst the rocks an eagle shall produce
An eagle, who shall many knees unloose,
Bloody and strong: guard then your measures well,
Ye who in Corinth and Pirene dwell!

When this oracle was first delivered to the Bacchiadæ they had no conception of its meaning; but as soon as they learned the particulars of that given to Eetion they understood the first from the last. The result was that they confined the secret to themselves, determined to destroy the future child of Eetion. As soon as the woman was delivered they commissioned ten of their number to go to the place where Eetion lived, and make away with the infant. As soon as they came to where the tribe of Petra resided they went to Eetion's house, and asked for the child: Labda, ignorant of their intentions, and imputing this visit to their friendship for her husband, produced her infant, and gave it to the arms of one of them. It had been concerted that whoever should first have the child in his hands was to dash it on the ground: it happened, as if by divine interposition, that the infant smiled in the face [1] of the man to whom the mother had intrusted it. He was seized with an emotion of pity, and found himself unable to destroy it: with these feelings, he gave the child to the person next him, who gave it to a third, till thus it passed through the hands of all the ten; no one of them was able to

1 The effects of an infant smiling in the face of rude untutored men is delightfully expressed in part of an ode on the use and abuse of poetry, preserved by Warton, in his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.

Whence dear domestic life began,
And all the charities that soften'd man:
The babes that in their fathers' faces smiled,
With lisping blandishments their rage beguiled,
And tender thoughts inspired.

murder it, and it was returned to the mother. On leaving the house they stopped at the gate, and began to reproach and accuse each other, but particularly him who first receiving the child, had failed in his engagements. After a short interval they agreed to enter the house again, and jointly destroy the child: but fate had determined that the offspring of Eetion should ultimately prove the destruction of Corinth. Labda standing near the gate had overheard their discourse, and fearing that as their sentiments were changed, they would infallibly, if they had opportunity, murder her infant, she carried it away, and hid it in a place little obvious to suspicion, namely, in a corn-measure. She was satisfied that on their return they would make a strict search after the child, which accordingly happened: finding however all their diligence ineffectual, they thought it only remained for them to return and acquaint their employers that they had executed their commission. When the son of Eetion grew up he was called Cypselus, in memory of the danger he had escaped in the 'corn-measure,' the meaning of the word Cypsela. On his arrival at manhood he consulted the Delphic oracle: the answer he received was ambiguous; but confident of its favorable meaning, he attacked and made himself master of Corinth. The oracle was this:—

Behold a man whom Fortune makes her care,
Corinthian Cypselus, Eetion's heir;
Himself shall reign, his children too prevail,
But there the glories of his race must fail.

When Cypselus had obtained possession of the government he persecuted the inhabitants of Corinth, depriving many of their wealth, and more of their lives. After an undisturbed reign of thirty years he was succeeded by his son Periander, who at first

adopted a milder and more moderate conduct; but having by his emissaries formed an intimate connexion with Thrasybulus, sovereign of Miletus, he even exceeded his father in cruelty. The object of one of his embassies was to inquire of Thrasybulus what mode of government would render his authority most secure and most honorable. Thrasybulus conducted the messenger to a corn field without the town, where, as he walked up and down, he asked some questions of the man relative to his departure from Corinth; in the mean while, wherever he discerned a head of corn taller than the rest,[1] he cut it off, till all the highest and the richest were levelled with the ground. Having gone over the whole field in this manner, he retired without speaking a word to the person who attended him. On the return of his emissary to Corinth, Periander was extremely anxious to learn the result of his journey; but he was informed that Thrasybulus had never said a word in reply; that he even appeared to be a man deprived of his reason, and bent on the destruction of his own property. The messenger then proceeded to inform his master of what Thrasybulus had done. Periander immediately conceived the meaning of Thrasybulus to be, that he should destroy the most illustrious of his citizens. He in consequence exercised every species of cruelty, till he completed what his father Cypselus had begun, killing some, and driving others into exile. On account

1 A similar story is told of Tarquin the Proud, and his son Sextus, who, striking off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden, thus intimated his desire that his son should destroy the most eminent characters of the Gabii, of which he was endeavoring by stratagem to make himself master.—See *Livy*. It is remarkable that Aristotle, in his Politics, twice mentions this enigmatical advice as given by Periander to *Thrasybulus.—T.*

of his wife Melissa, he one day stripped all the women of Corinth of their clothes. He had sent into Thesprotia near the river Acheron to consult the oracle of the dead concerning something of value which had been left by a stranger. Melissa appearing, declared that she would by no means tell where the thing required was deposited, for she was cold and naked; for the garments in which she was interred were of no service to her, not having been burned. In proof of which she asserted that Periander had 'put bread into a cold oven.' Periander, on hearing this, was satisfied of the truth of what she said, for he had embraced Melissa after her decease. On the return therefore of his messengers, he commanded all the women of Corinth to assemble at the temple of Juno. On this occasion the women came as to some public festival, adorned with the greatest splendor. The king having placed his guards for the purpose, caused them all to be stripped, free women and slaves, without distinction. Their clothes were afterwards disposed in a large trench, and burned in honor of Melissa, who was solemnly invoked on the occasion. When this was done, a second messenger was despatched to Melissa, who now vouchsafed to say where the thing required might be found.—Such, O men of Sparta, is a tyrannical government, and such its effects. Much therefore were we Corinthians astonished when we learned you had sent for Hippias; but the declaration of your sentiments surprises us still more. We adjure you therefore, in the names of the divinities of Greece, not to establish tyranny in our cities. But if you are determined in your purpose, and are resolved, in opposition to what is just, to restore Hippias, be assured that the Corinthians will not second you.'

XCIII. Sosicles, the deputy of the Corinthians, having delivered his sentiments, was answered by Hippias. He having adjured the same divinities, declared that the Corinthians would most of all have occasion to regret the Pisistratidæ, when the destined hour should arrive, and they should groan under the oppression of the Athenians. Hippias spoke with the greater confidence, because he was best acquainted with the declarations of the oracles. The rest of the confederates, who had hitherto been silent, hearing the generous sentiments of Sosicles, declared themselves the friends of freedom, and favorers of the opinions of the Corinthians. They then conjured the Lacedæmonians to introduce no innovations which might affect the liberties of a Grecian city.

XCIV. When Hippias departed from Sparta Amyntas the Macedonian prince offered him for a residence Anthemos, as did the Thessalians Iolcos; but he would accept of neither, and returned to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken by force from the people of Mitylene. He had appointed Hegesistratus, his natural son by a woman of Argos, governor of the place, who did not retain his situation without much and violent contest. The people of Mitylene and of Athens issuing, the one from the city of Achillea, the other from Sigeum, were long engaged in hostilities. They of Mitylene insisted on the restoration of what had been violently taken from them; but it was answered that the Æolians had no stronger claims on the territories of Troy than the Athenians themselves, and the rest of the Greeks, who had assisted Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen.

XCV. Among their various encounters, it happened that *in a severe* engagement, in which the Athenians

had the advantage, the poet Alcæus[1] fled from the field. The Athenians obtained his arms, and sus-

1 Alcæus was a native of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos: he was contemporary with Sappho, and generally is considered as the inventor of lyric poetry. Archilochus, Alcæus, and Horace, were all unsuccessful in their attempts to distinguish themselves as soldiers; and all of them ingenuously acknowleged their inferiority in this respect. Bayle doubts whether Horace would have confessed his disgrace if he had not been sanctioned by the great examples above mentioned.

Of Alcæus we have but very few remains; but it is understood that Horace in many of his odes minutely imitated him. The principal subjects of his muse seem to have been the praise of liberty and a hatred of tyrants. The ancient poets abound with passages in his honor, and his memory receives no disgrace from the following apostrophe by Akenside, in his ode on lyric poetry:

Broke from the fetters of his native land,
Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
With louder impulse and a threatening hand
The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords.
Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
Ye cursed of gods and freeborn men,
Ye murderers of the laws,
Though now ye glory in your lust,
Though now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause.

After all, Alcæus does not appear to have been one of the fairest characters of antiquity, and has probably received more commendation than he deserved. His house, we learn from Athenæus, was filled with military weapons; his great desire was to attain military glory; but in his first engagement with an enemy he ignominiously fled. The theme of his songs was liberty, but he was strongly suspected of being a secret friend to some who meditated the ruin of their country. I say nothing of his supposed licentious overture to Sappho, thinking with Bayle, that the verses cited by Aristotle have been too hardly construed. Of these verses the following is an imperfect translation:

ALCÆUS.

I wish to speak, but still through shame conceal
The thoughts my tongue most gladly would reveal.

pended them at Sigeum, in the temple of Minerva. Alcæus recorded the event in a poem which he sent to Mitylene, explaining to a friend named Melanippus the particulars of his misfortune. Periander, the son of Cypselus, at length reunited the contending nations: he being chosen arbiter, determined that each party should retain what they possessed. Sigeum thus devolved to the Athenians.

XCVI. Hippias, when he left Sparta, went to Asia, where he used every effort to render the Athenians odious to Artaphernes, and to prevail on him to make them subject to him and to Darius. As soon as the intrigues of Hippias were known at Athens the Athenians despatched emissaries to Sardis, entreating the Persians to place no confidence in men whom they had driven into exile. Artaphernes informed them in reply, that if they wished for peace, they must recall Hippias. Rather than accede to these conditions, the Athenians chose to be considered as the enemies of Persia.

XCVII. Whilst they were resolving on these measures, in consequence of the impression which had been made to their prejudice in Persia, Aristagoras the Milesian, being driven by Cleomenes from Sparta, arrived at Athens, which city was then powerful beyond the rest of its neighbors. When Aristagoras appeared in the public assembly he enumerated, as he had done at Sparta, the riches which Asia possessed, and recommended a Persian war, in which they would be easily successful against a people using neither spear

SAPPHO.

Were your request, O bard! on virtue built,
Your cheeks would wear no marks of secret guilt;
But in prompt words the ready thought had flown,
And *your heart's* honest meaning quickly shown.

I give them, with some slight alteration, from Bayle.—T.

nor shield. In addition to this, he remarked that Miletus was an Athenian colony, and that consequently it became the Athenians to exert the great power they possessed in favor of the Milesians. He proceeded to make use of the most earnest entreaties, and lavish promises, till they finally acceded to his views. He thought, and as it appeared with justice, that it was far easier to delude a great multitude than a single individual: he was unable to prevail on Cleomenes; but he won to his purpose no less than thirty thousand Athenians. The people of Athens accordingly agreed to send to the assistance of the Ionians twenty vessels of war, of which Melanthus, a very amiable and popular character, was to have the command. This fleet was the source of the calamities which afterwards ensued to the Greeks and barbarians.

XCVIII. Before their departure Aristagoras returned to Miletus, where he contrived a measure from which no advantage could possibly result to the Ionians. Indeed, his principal motive was to distress Darius. He despatched a messenger into Phrygia, to those Pæonians who from the banks of the Strymon had been led away captive by Megabyzus, and who inhabited a district appropriated to them. His emissaries thus addressed them:—'Men of Pæonia, I am commissioned by Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, to say, that if you will follow his counsel, you may be free. The whole of Ionia has revolted from Persia, and it becomes you to seize this opportunity of returning to your native country. You have only to appear on the banks of the ocean; we will provide for the rest.' The Pæonians received this information with great satisfaction, and with their wives and children fled towards the sea. Some, however, yielding to their fears, remained behind. From the sea-coast they

passed over to Chios: here they had scarce disembarked before a large body of Persian cavalry, sent in pursuit of them, appeared on the opposite shore. Unable to overtake them, they sent over to them at Chios, soliciting their return. This however had no effect: from Chios they were transported to Lesbos, from Lesbos to Doriscus,[1] and from hence they proceeded by land to Pæonia.

XCIX. At this juncture Aristagoras was joined by the Athenians in twenty vessels, who were also accompanied by five triremes of Eretrians. These latter did not engage in the contest from any regard for the Athenians, but to discharge a similar debt of friendship to the Milesians. The Milesians had formerly assisted the Eretrians against the Chalcidians, when the Samians had united with them against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these and the rest of his confederates were assembled, Aristagoras commenced an expedition against Sardis: he himself continued at Miletus, whilst his brother Charopinus commanded the Milesians, and Hermophantus had the conduct of the allies.

C. The Ionians arriving with their fleet at Ephesus, disembarked at Coressus, a place in its vicinity. Taking some Ephesians for their guides, they advanced with a formidable force, directing their march towards the Cayster.[2] Passing over Mount Tmolus, they arrived at Sardis, where meeting no resistance,

1 Doriscus is memorable for being the place where Xerxes numbered his army.—*T.*

2 This river was very famous in classic story. It anciently abounded with swans, and from its serpentine course has sometimes been confounded with the Mæander; the Mæander was the appropriate river of the Milesians, as was the Cayster of the Ephesians. The name the Turks now give it is *Chiay.—T.*

they made themselves masters of the whole of the city, except the citadel. This was defended by Artaphernes himself, with a large body of troops.

CI. The following incident preserved the city from plunder:—the houses of Sardis[1] were in general constructed of reeds; such few as were of brick had reed coverings. One of these being set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house, till the whole city was consumed. In the midst of the conflagration the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, seeing themselves surrounded by the flames, and without the possibility of escape, rushed in crowds to the forum, through the centre of which flows the Pactolus. This river brings, in its descent from Mount Tmolus, a quantity of gold-dust; passing, as we have described, through Sardis, it mixes with the Hermus, till both are finally lost in the sea. The Persians and Lydians thus reduced to the last extremity, were compelled to act on the defensive. The Ionians seeing some of the enemy prepared to defend themselves, others advancing to attack them, were seized with a panic, and retired to Mount Tmolus, from whence, under favor of the night, they retreated to their ships.

CII. In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of the country, was totally destroyed, which was afterwards made a pretence by the Persians for burning the temples of the Greeks. When the Persians who dwell on this side the Halys were acquainted with the above invasion, they determined to assist the Lydians. Following the Ionians regularly from Sardis, they came up with them at

1 The reader will recollect that Sardis was the capital of *Crœsus*, which is here represented as consisting only of a number of thatched houses, a proof that architecture had as yet made no progress.—T.

Ephesus. A general engagement ensued, in which the Ionians were defeated with great slaughter. Amongst others of distinction who fell, was Eualcis, chief of the Eretrians; he had frequently been victorious in many contests, of which a garland was the reward, and had been particularly celebrated by Simonides of Ceos.[1] They who escaped from this battle took refuge in the different cities.

CIII. After the event of the above expedition the Athenians withdrew themselves intirely from the Ionians, and refused all the solicitations of Aristagoras by his ambassadors to repeat their assistance. The Ionians, though deprived of this resource, continued with no less alacrity to persevere in the hostilities they had commenced against Darius. They sailed to the Hellespont, and reduced Byzantium, with the neighboring cities: quitting that part again, and advancing to Caria, the greater part of the inhabitants joined them in their offensive operations. The city of Caunus, which at first had refused their alliance, after the burning of Sardis, added itself to their forces.

CIV. The confederacy was also farther strengthened by the voluntary accession of all the Cyprians, except

1 There were several poets of this name: the celebrated satire against women was written by another and more modern Simonides. The great excellence of this Simonides of Ceos was elegiac composition, in which Dionysius Halicarnassus does not scruple to prefer him to Pindar. The invention of local memory was ascribed to him; and it is not a little remarkable, that at the age of eighty he contended for and won a poetical prize. His most memorable saying was concerning God. Hiero asked him what God was. After many and reiterated delays, his answer was: 'The longer I meditate on it, the more obscure the subject appears to me.' He is reproached for having been the first who prostituted his muse for mercenary purposes. Bayle seems to have collected every thing of moment relative to this Simonides, to whom *for more minute* particulars I refer the reader.—T.

the Amathusians. The following was the occasion of the revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes:—Gorgus, prince of Salamis, son of Chersis, grandson of Siromus, great-grandson of Euelthon, had a younger brother, whose name was Onesilus: this man had repeatedly solicited Gorgus to revolt from the Persians; and on hearing of the secession of the Ionians he urged him with still greater importunity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, assisted by his party, he took an opportunity of his brother's making an excursion from Salamis to shut the gates against him: Gorgus, thus deprived of his city, took refuge amongst the Medes. Onesilus usurped his station, and persuaded the Cyprians to rebel. The Amathusians, who alone opposed him, he closely besieged.

CV. At this period Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras of Miletus was the principal instigator of the confederacy against him. On first receiving the intelligence, he is said to have treated the revolt of the Ionians with extreme contempt, as if certain that it was impossible for them to escape his indignation; but he desired to know who the Athenians were. On being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed—'Suffer me, O Jupiter, to be revenged on these Athenians!' He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he sat down to table, 'Sir, remember the Athenians.'

CVI. After giving these orders Darius summoned to his presence Histiæus of Miletus, whom he had long detained at his court. He addressed him thus: 'I am informed, Histiæus, that the man to whom you intrusted the government of Miletus has excited a rebellion against me: he has procured forces from the

opposite continent, and seduced the Ionians, whom I shall unquestionably chastise, from their duty. With their united assistance he has destroyed my city of Sardis. Can such conduct possibly meet with your approbation? or, unadvised by you, could he have done what he has? Be careful not to involve yourself in a second offence against my authority.'—'Can you, sir, believe,' said Histiæus in reply, 'that I would be concerned in any thing which might occasion the smallest perplexity to you? What should I, who have nothing to wish for, gain by such conduct? Do I not participate all that you yourself enjoy? and have I not the honor of being your counsellor and your friend? If my representative has acted as you allege, it is intirely his own deed; but I cannot easily be persuaded that either he or the Milesians would engage in any thing to your prejudice. If, nevertheless, what you intimate be really true, by withdrawing me from my own proper station, you have only to blame yourself for the event. I suppose that the Ionians have taken the opportunity of my absence to accomplish what they have for a long time meditated. Had I been present in Ionia I will venture to affirm, that not a city would have revolted from your power: you have only therefore to send me instantly to Ionia, that things may resume their former situation, and that I may give into your power the present governor of Miletus, who has occasioned all this mischief. Having first effected this, I swear by the deities of heaven that I will not change the garb in which I shall set foot in Ionia without rendering the great island of Sardinia tributary to your power.'

CVII. Histiæus made these protestations to delude Darius. The king was influenced by what he said, *only requiring his* return to Susa as soon as he should *have fulfilled his* engagements.

CVIII. In this interval, when the messenger from Sardis had informed Darius of the fate of that city, and the king had done with his bow what we have described; and when, after conferring with Histiæus, he had dismissed him to Ionia, the following incident occurred: Onesilus of Salamis being engaged in the siege of Amathus, word was brought him that Artybius, a Persian officer, was on his way to Cyprus with a large fleet, and a formidable body of Persians. On hearing this, Onesilus sent messengers to different parts of Ionia, expressing his want and desire of assistance. The Ionians without hesitation hastened to join him with a numerous fleet. Whilst they were already at Cyprus the Persians had passed over from Cilicia, and were proceeding by land to Salamis. The Phœnicians in the mean time had passed the promontory which is called the Key of Cyprus.

CIX. Whilst things were in this situation the princes of Cyprus assembled the Ionian chiefs, and thus addressed them:—'Men of Ionia, we submit to your own determination, whether you will engage the Phœnicians or the Persians. If you rather choose to fight on land and with the Persians, it is time for you to disembark, that we may go on board your vessels, and attack the Phœnicians.—If you think it more advisable to encounter the Phœnicians, it becomes you to do so immediately.—Decide which way you please, that as far as our efforts can prevail, Ionia and Cyprus may be free.'—'We have been commissioned,' answered the Ionians, 'by our country to guard the ocean, not to deliver up our vessels to you, nor to engage the Persians by land.—We will endeavor to discharge our duty in the station appointed us; it is *for you* to distinguish yourselves as valiant men, re-*membering* the oppressions you have endured from *the Medes.*'

CX. When the Persians were drawn up before Salamis, the Cyprian commanders placed the forces of Cyprus against the auxiliaries of the enemy, selecting the flower of Salamis and Soli to oppose the Persians: Onesilus voluntarily stationed himself against Artybius the Persian general.

CXI. Artybius was mounted on a charger, which had been taught to face a man in complete armor. Onesilus hearing this, called to him his shield-bearer, who was a Carian of great military experience, and of undaunted courage:—'I hear,' said he, 'that the horse of Artybius, by his feet and his teeth, materially assists his master against an adversary; deliberate on this, and tell me which you will encounter, the man or the horse.'—'Sir,' said the attendant, 'I am ready to engage with either, or both, or indeed to do whatever you command me: I should rather think it will be more consistent for you, being a prince and a general, to contend with one who is a prince and a general also. —If you should fortunately kill a person of this description, you will acquire great glory; or if you should fall by his hand, which Heaven avert, the calamity is somewhat softened by the rank of the conqueror: it is for us of inferior rank to oppose men like ourselves. As to the horse, do not concern yourself about what he has been taught; I will venture to say that he shall never again be troublesome to any one.'

CXII. In a short time afterwards the hostile forces engaged both by sea and land; the Ionians, after a severe contest, obtained a victory over the Phœnicians, in which the bravery of the Samians was remarkably conspicuous. Whilst the armies were engaged by land the following incident happened to the two generals:—Artybius, mounted on his horse, rushed against *Onesilus*, who, as he had concerted with his

servant, aimed a blow at him as he approached; and whilst the horse reared up his feet against the shield of Onesilus, the Carian cut them off with an axe.—The horse, with his master, fell instantly to the ground.

CXIII. In the midst of the battle Stesenor, prince of Curium, with a considerable body of forces, went over to the enemy (it is said that the Curians are an Argive colony); their example was followed by the men of Salamis, in their chariots of war; from which events the Persians obtained a decisive victory. The Cyprians fled. Among the number of the slain was Onesilus, son of Chersis, and principal instigator of the revolt; the Solian prince Aristocyprus also fell, son of that Philocyprus whom Solon of Athens, when at Cyprus, celebrated in verse amongst other sovereign princes.

CXIV. In revenge for his besieging them, the Amathusians took the head of Onesilus, and carrying it back in triumph, fixed it over their gates: some time afterwards, when the inside of the head was decayed, a swarm of bees settling in it, filled it with honey. The people of Amathus consulted the oracle on the occasion, and were directed to bury the head, and every year to sacrifice to Onesilus as to an hero. Their obedience involved a promise of future prosperity; and even within my remembrance they have performed what was required of them.

CXV. The Ionians, although successful in the naval engagement off Cyprus, as soon as they heard of the defeat and death of Onesilus, and that all the cities of Cyprus were closely blockaded, except Salamis, which the citizens had restored to Gorgus, their former sovereign, returned with all possible expedition to Ionia. Of all the towns in Cyprus, Soli made the

longest and most vigorous defence; but of this, by undermining the place, the Persians obtained possession after a five months' siege.

CXVI. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their liberties for the space of a year, were a second time reduced to servitude. All the Ionians who had been engaged in the expedition against Sardis were afterwards vigorously attacked by Daurises, Hymees, Otanes, and other Persian generals, each of whom had married a daughter of Darius: they first drove them to their ships, then took and plundered their towns, which they divided among themselves.

CXVII. Daurises afterwards turned his arms against the cities of the Hellespont, and in as many successive days made himself master of Abydos, Percotes, Lampsacus,[1] and Pæson. From this latter place he proceeded to Parion; but learning on his march that the Carians, taking part with the Ionians, had revolted from Persia, he turned aside from the Hellespont, and led his forces against Caria.

CXVIII. Of this motion of Daurises the Carians had early information, in consequence of which they assembled at a place called the White Columns, not far from the river Marsyas, which, passing through the district of Hidryas, flows into the Mæander. Various sentiments were on this occasion delivered; but the most sagacious in my estimation was that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus; he was a native of Cindys, and had married the daughter of Syennesis, prince of Cilicia. He advised, that passing the Mæander, they should attack the enemy, with the river in their rear; that thus deprived of all possibility of retreat, they should from compulsion stand their ground, and make

1 *This place was given to Themistocles to furnish him wine, and was memorable in antiquity for producing many minent men.—Epicurus resided here a long time.*—T.

the greater exertions of valor. This advice was not accepted; they chose rather that the Persians should have the Mæander behind them, that if they vanquished the enemy in the field they might afterwards drive them into the river.

CXIX. The Persians advanced, and passed the Mæander; the Carians met them on the banks of the Marsyas, when a severe and well fought contest ensued. The Persians had so greatly the advantage in point of number, that they were finally victorious; two thousand Persians and ten thousand Carians fell in the battle; they who escaped from the field fled to Labranda, and took refuge in a sacred wood of planes, surrounding a temple of Jupiter Statius. The Carians are the only people, as far as I have been able to learn, who sacrifice to this Jupiter. Driven to the above extremity, they deliberated among themselves whether it would be better to surrender themselves to the Persians, or finally to relinquish Asia.

CXX. In the midst of their consultation the Milesians with their allies arrived to reinforce them; the Carians resumed their courage, and again prepared for hostilities; they a second time advanced to meet the Persians, and after an engagement more obstinate than the former, sustained a second defeat, in which a prodigious number, chiefly of Milesians, were slain.

CXXI. The Carians soon recruited their forces, and in a subsequent action somewhat repaired their former losses. Receiving intelligence that the Persians were on their march to attack their towns, they placed themselves in ambuscade, in the road to Pidasus. The Persians by night fell into the snare, and a vast number were slain, with their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisimaces; Myrses, the son of Gyges, was also of the number.

CXXII. The conduct of this ambuscade was in-

trusted to Heraclides, son of Ibanolis, a Mylassian.—The event has been related. Hymees, who was engaged amongst others in the pursuit of the Ionians, after the affair of Sardis, turning towards the Propontis, took Cios, a Mysian city. Receiving intelligence that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, to march against Caria, he left the Propontis, and proceeded to the Hellespont, where he effectually reduced all the Æolians of the Trojan district; he vanquished also the Gergithæ, a remnant of the ancient Teucri. Hymees himself, after all these successes, died at Troas.

CXXIII. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, the third in command, received orders to lead their forces to Ionia and Æolia, which is contiguous to it; they made themselves masters of Clazomenæ in Ionia, and of Cyma, an Æolian city.

CXXIV. After the capture of these places Aristagoras of Miletus, though the author of all the confusion in which Ionia had been involved, betrayed a total want of intrepidity: these losses confirmed him in the belief, that all attempts to overcome Darius would be ineffectual; he accordingly determined to seek his safety in flight. He assembled his party, and submitted to them whether it would not be advisable to have some place of retreat in case they should be driven from Miletus. He left it to them to determine whether they should establish a colony in Sardinia, or whether they should retire to Myrcinus, a city of the Edonians, which had been fortified by Histiæus, to whom Darius had presented it.

CXXV. Hecatæus the historian, who was the son of Hegesander, was not for establishing a colony at either of these places: he affirmed that if they should *be expelled from* Miletus, it would be more expedient

for them to construct a fort in the island of Leros, and there remain till a favorable opportunity should enable them to return to Miletus.

CXXVI. Aristagoras himself was more inclined to retire to Myrcinus; he confided therefore the administration of Miletus to Pythagoras, a man exceedingly popular, and taking with him all those who thought proper to accompany him, he embarked for Thrace, where he took possession of the district which he had in view. Leaving this place, he proceeded to the attack of some other, where both he and his army fell by the hands of the Thracians, who had previously entered into terms to resign their city into his power.[1]

1 I cannot dismiss this book of Herodotus without remarking that it contains a great deal of curious history, and abounds with many admirable examples of private life. The speech of Sosicles of Corinth, in favor of liberty, is excellent in its kind; and the many sagacious, and indeed moral sentiments, which are scattered throughout the whole book, cannot fail of producing both entertainment and instruction. —*T.*

END OF VOL. II.

